

TRIBAL SYSTEM

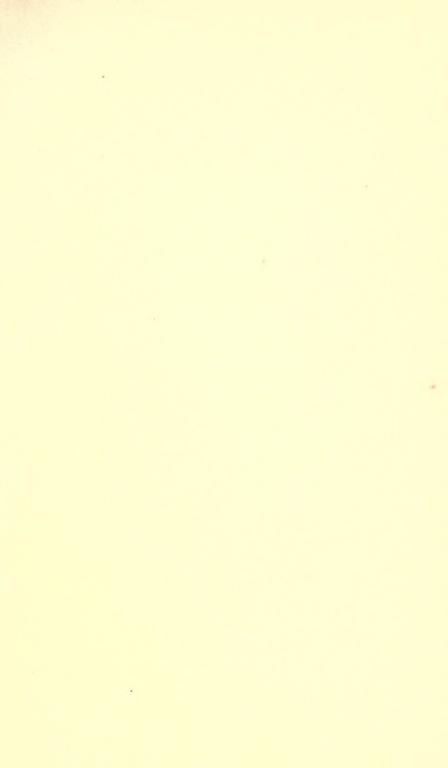
IN WALES



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THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES



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THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES

BEING PART OF AN INQUIRY INTO
THE STRUCTURE AND METHODS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY

BY

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(SECOND EDITION, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE UNIT OF FAMILY HOLDING UNDER EARLY TRIBAL CUSTOM)

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION

ON THE UNIT OF FAMILY HOLDING UNDER EARLY TRIBAL CUSTOM.

In publishing a second edition of this essay on the 'Tribal System in Wales' something seems to be needed by way of explanation and apology for its reprint without material revision.

It is nearly nine years since the first edition was published and it has now been for some time out of print.

As was stated in the preface it was a part only of a wider inquiry. Its object was intentionally restricted to the study of the tribal system in Wales preparatory to the extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems.

This course was adopted in the hope that the previous study of the strictly Welsh evidence might be used as a key to the understanding of Germanic tribal custom, and so eventually aid in the elucidation of some of the difficult problems involved in the conditions of early Anglo-Saxon society.

The results of this extended study have been published in a separate volume, 'Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law,' and it seems appropriate in reprinting this essay after so long an interval briefly to refer in a preliminary note to the chief points upon which fresh light may have been thrown back upon the Welsh tribal system.

It may appear at first sight to the reader that the better way would have been to have re-written this volume. But the premature use of comparative evidence has its dangers, and it seemed to be the wiser course to adhere to the original intention, and to leave the separate statement of the Welsh evidence with all its imperfections substantially unaltered.

At the time when this essay was written there lingered in the minds of students a not unnatural mist of suspicion as to the reality of the conditions of tribal society described in the Codes and legal treatises collected in the two volumes of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales.' A good deal of it was, I think, dispelled by the facts recorded in the Denbigh Extent. Results of tribal custom described in the 'Ancient Laws' were here found to be recorded in detail as still existing at the date when the survey was made. In particular it became clear that the unit of holding was the family unit of the 'wele' or 'gwely.' And the description of the gwelys by the surveyors was definite enough to dispel any mist of unreality which had hitherto surrounded them.

It is not too much to say that a definite conception of the Gwely as the unit of tribal holding is as essential to the understanding of Welsh tribal

custom as was that of the Virgate or Yardland to the understanding of the English village community under the open field husbandry of the manorial system.

But it is not easy, from modern points of view, to realise what this unit of tribal holding was and what the methods and internal rights of its members may have been.

Professor Maitland has pointed out that in records of common law and custom features may well be included belonging to different periods and stages of legal thought and economic conditions; so that the whole body of custom as recorded could hardly have all of it been in force at any one time.

This important consideration certainly applies very forcibly to the statements of Welsh custom as to the gwely and internal rights of its members. As contained in the Codes and Extents they do not always appear to be consistent. Therefore any light that can be borrowed from comparison with other more or less similar or corresponding units under Germanic custom must be helpful to the student of Welsh custom. He will approach the study of the Welsh tribal system with all the more confidence if already aware that it is not to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon in history.

The Welsh Extents disclose to us a family group, limited to the descendants of a great-grand-father, holding together the family share in tribal rights and occupation of land as a united body, still generally under the name of the great-grandfather as chief or head of the gwely although he may long have been dead.

As regards the internal rights of the members of the family group the Codes agree in describing three successive periods of equal division.

(1) On the great-grandfather's death there was to be equal division per capita in the next family grade: that is, between his sons as brothers; (2) after the death of all the sons there was to be a like equal division in the next grade per capita among grandsons as first cousins. Lastly (3), after the death of all the grandsons there was to be a like equal division per capita in the third grade between great-grandsons as second cousins.

These were the rules for what was called 'tir gwelyawc,' i.e. land of the 'gwely.' It seems clear that the ultimate right of division among great-grandchildren, as second cousins, per capita, made necessary the continuance of the family holding till the final division took place. But at first sight it may well be a puzzling question what took place at the final division.

There might be twenty or forty second cousins. Did the original gwely split into as many new gwelys? I think not. Let us suppose that the great-grandfather had three sons, A, B, and C, and that three of the second cousins at the final division were grandsons of A, and ten of them grandsons of B, and twenty of them grandsons of C. There would be thirty-three second cousins but there would only be three new gwelys. The gwely of A (sometimes called in the Extents 'the gwely of the grandsons of A') would take $\frac{3}{3}$ of the family rights. The gwely of B (or the grandsons of B) would take $\frac{10}{3}$. The gwely of C (or the grandsons of C) would take

 $\frac{20}{33}$ of the family rights. The members of each of the new gwelys, not being, as between themselves, second cousins, would hold their shares as undivided family holdings until, in another generation, the final division in their gwely among second cousins would take place.

That something like this was what happened is confirmed by the frequent mention, in the Extents, of

the 'gwelys of the grandsons of so and so.'

Thus the process would be continuous and might

go on for ever.

Now that this unit of tribal or family holding had something like a counterpart under Germanic tribal custom is in itself an instructive and interesting point. There is clearly traceable in the Norse, Frankish, and other laws. something like family ownership by groups of blood relations contrasted with what we may roughly call individual ownership.

In the title *De Alodis* of the Lex Salica there is direct allusion to the ultimate division of the land of the 'alods' or family holdings *per capita* amongst grandsons and great-grandsons. And clauses relating to the family holding or 'alod' occur also in the Ripuarian law and that of the 'Angli and Werini.' The 'odal' holdings under the ancient Norse laws also present many traits of family rather than individual ownership.

The general resemblance between the family holdings of Celtic and Germanic tribal custom need not be a matter of surprise.

It was suggested in this essay that the rules of Welsh custom as to family holdings may, after all, have been the outcome of the family solidarity

naturally resulting from early conditions of pastoral as contrasted with later agricultural life. And without direct connection similar causes may have produced similar results elsewhere.

Under Norse and Anglo-Saxon Law, no less than under Welsh custom, the status of strangers in blood is found to rise step by step as generation after generation a more and more perfect kindred grows up around them to swear for them and defend them. In fact, the existence of a family or tribal solidarity not only underlying the family group to the fourth degree of blood relationship as in the gwely but also extending to seventh and ninth degrees of kinship has to be recognised under Germanic as well as under Welsh tribal custom as the foundation of the rules regarding personal status and land-holding.

The root of this family solidarity may have been originally 'ancestor worship,' or perhaps the regard for ancestors, at the date of the laws, may be sufficiently explained as the feeling naturally resulting from the family solidarity without its being necessary to exaggerate it into a religion.

It is not needful to decide which was the cause and which was the effect. It is only necessary to refer to the pages in which the gifted Swedish novelist Selma Lagerlöf 1 has described the family and almost tribal instincts of her hero Ingmar-Ingmarson to understand how even now in Scandinavia the family bond in the popular mind may include ancestors as well as their living descendants. She describes how the conscience of the living Ingmar has for its appeal

In her 'Jerusalem.'

and sanction the approval of the 'great Ingmars' in the other world whose presence is sufficiently vividly realised to make it natural that they should be consulted in emergencies, especially when the honour of the family is at stake.

This description of the realisation of family solidarity in modern Scandinavia may help to the understanding not only of the family character, of odal holding under the old Norse laws, but also of the continued unity of the Welsh family holdings long after the great-grandfather may have been dead.

Nor is it difficult to gather from the Continental laws themselves evidence pointing to what may probably have been the constitution of the Welsh family group in a simpler and earlier condition than that in which we find it in the Codes, and suggesting how it may have been already modified under Christian and Roman influences in the direction of individual ownership.

It may perhaps be most easy to conceive of the gwely, as we find it in the Codes and Extents at any one time, as a group consisting of a living grandfather and his sons and grandsons, the great-grandfather in most cases being already dead. And we want to understand what may have been the nature of the community of interests among the living members, both as regards rights in the occupation and grazing of land and the ownership or use of cattle and goods.

The rules in the Codes as to the successive divisions among brothers, cousins, and second cousins, nominally relate to the *land* of the gwely, but in the pastoral stage of tribal life *cattle* must have been the

main object and the grazing of cattle the main subject of agrarian rights.

The Extents accordingly bring into prominence grazing rights over large tracts of open country often exercised jointly by several gwelys in common.

The close connection between cattle and the rights of grazing raises important questions. We want to know more than the Codes tell us as to the ownership of the cattle, how far there were common herds vested, with the landed rights of the gwely, in its representative head or chief, or how far the cattle were owned by its members as personal property.

There are, indeed, facts from which inferences may be drawn. For instance, when the matter of the payment of the galanas or blood fine comes into question we find that it is paid in cattle, and that everyone has cattle: fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, all have a right to receive, or are liable to have to contribute so many cows or their equivalent. Obviously the cattle seem to be distributed among the tribesmen very widely, and if every one had cattle he must also have participated in the occupation of the homesteads and the grazing rights of the gwely.

We learn, chiefly from the later legal treatises, that the right of every tribesman on coming of age was to location on land and a cyvarwys (or gift for his maintenance) of five free erws or strips with right to join in co-tillage of the waste, and hunting. And this the young tribesman, we are told, had in his father's lifetime, not from his father, but by right of 'kin and descent' from the kindred. But there is no mention of cattle as a part of the cyvarwys.

And we learn from the Codes that when a boy attained the age of fourteen he was no longer to be maintained by his father—at his father's platter. The father was no longer to be responsible for his maintenance or his actions. He was to take his son to the chieftain (whether of the kindred or smaller group of kinsmen) and the son was thereupon to become 'man and kin' to the chief, who thenceforth was to support him. He was now to have da or cattle of his own, presumably by gift or loan from the chief as representing the kindred. And he was to be on the privilege of the chief and not of his father. So complete, indeed, was his independence of his father that any act of correction by his father was to be reckoned as an assault, for which he was to be liable to a dirwy or fine.1

The inference that the tribesman received his da or cattle from the chief as representing the kindred, and not from his father, is confirmed by the fact that, according to the Venedotian Code, on his death without sons the da or cattle went back, not to the father, but to the chief.

The Irish evidence makes it almost certain that the da came from the chief. For under Irish custom, as is well known, the gift or loan of cattle by a chief to his tribesman was what marked the relation between them and formed the most prominent link in the chain of tribal society.

The question whether in the Welsh case the young tribesman received his cyvarwys and da from the head of the wider kindred or that of the gwely is

Ven. Code II. xxviii. 4-9, and II. i. 34.

one not easily answered from the Welsh evidence alone. Irish custom might lead us to suppose that he might receive cattle both from the head of his gwely and from the higher chieftain.

The word used in the Codes for Chieftain in this matter is 'argluyd.' But as the father in the same sentences is said to be the 'argluyd' of his son up to fourteen, the word does not tell us much. The transfer of the son at fourteen was from the argluyd-ship of the father to that of the chief.

After all, the main fact to be considered is that the individual tribesman during his father's lifetime claimed his *cyvarwys* and other tribal rights, presumably including his *da*, not by inheritance from his father but by right of 'kin and descent' from the kindred. And it may well be inferred that this fact must have been a vital one in the constitution of both the kindred and the gwely.

In early stages of Welsh tribal society the chieftain from whose hands the da was given may have been the chief of the organised kindred. There are clear traces in the Codes of the organisation of the kindred. But when the growth of individualism had loosened the solidarity of the kindred, it may have been the chief of the gwely from whose herds the da came and in which it was merged again on the tribesman's death without children.

Be this as it may, other questions arise as we try to realise what may have been the internal rights and conditions of the members of the gwely.

What happened if the deceased tribesman had sons? Did they, under early custom, succeed to their father's da and grazing rights, or did these still

go back to the chief and merge in the common stock? Strictly speaking, if tribal custom was to be consistent, perhaps they ought to have done so.

Again, when the general division was made on the grandfather's death equally between his sons as brothers, did the division include the cattle as well as the rights of grazing? There surely should have been some correspondence in regard to them.

Lastly, was the division made only between surviving brothers, or did the grandchildren, sons of a deceased brother, take the share their father would have taken had he lived?

So long as the ruling principle was maintained intact that the tribesman's rights came from the tribe or kindred, and not from the parent, it is easy to see that the idea of a son's succession to his father's cattle and rights—so natural to the modern mind—might, under tribal custom, be by no means a mere matter of course. If the sons had each had their da from the chief, why should they succeed to their father's da in addition?

Any admission of representative succession if found to exist at any one time might very well be suspected as probably a later innovation upon earlier custom rather than as originally germane to it.

Some recognition of a 'peculium' of individual property would naturally be one of the first innovations upon what may have been the original community in cattle and goods under earlier custom. The tribesman's da would increase under peaceful surroundings. Already in the Codes the word da has become widened in meaning so as to embrace chattels

of other kinds. Thus any incoming rights of succession would have to deal with the da in its wider

meaning.

Evidently, in the time of Howel the Good, the succession of sons to a father's property (trev y tat) had already been conceded. Indeed, when under that Prince a kind of settlement was made between Cymric custom and the requirements of ecclesiastical law, the dispute was as to whether only legitimate sons should succeed to their father's property.

But had it been so always? And did the right apply within the gwely? Or did it only apply to land more or less under individual ownership? There evidently was land both within and outside the gwelys, and the same rule may not have applied to both.

It is upon these points that the comparative evidence of Germanic tribal custom comes to our aid. And especially useful are the suggestions it gives as to the early constitution of the family holdings and the steps by which the growing tendencies towards individualism gradually broke up the solidarity of family ownerships. The conditions of Germanic tribal society may have more or less differed from those on this side of the Channel, but, after all, tribal society everywhere in Europe had to fight the same tendencies. On both sides of the Channel it was a losing game, and, sooner or later, very much the same goal had to be reached.

In the Scanian Law 1 there is a clause as to pro-

¹ Sec Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 292-296, on the Lex Scania Antiqua.

perty brought into the family by a son's wife, with the heading 'Of a grandfather's property (bonis) what portion goes to the grandchildren on the death of a filius familias.'

The clause relates to the case of property brought in by the wives of sons 'in sacris paternis cum uxore constituti.' And it is settled that when there had been no 'definitio' of the wife's property on marriage, it became part of the communis substantia of the grandfather, but if it had been specially defined and made separate on the marriage, this separate property alone went to the sons of the marriage if the grandfather was alive when the father died.

Here we get valuable light at once. First, there clearly was a communis substantia of the family group vested in the grandfather as pater familias. Secondly, if the separate or settled property of the wife alone went to the sons, the grandfather being alive, the inference is that the unsettled property of the wife went back with the husband's property into the communis substantia of the grandfather. There was apparently no succession by a son in the grandfather's lifetime, and the grandfather was apparently the chief in whom the communis substantia was vested

Further clauses in the Scanian Law confirm this view that whilst originally there had been no succession of sons, more modern notions of justice had made necessary a modification of the rule at the date of the laws.

Thus, according to Clause CXI.:

^{&#}x27;The father surviving, the dead filius familias has no successor, as if he had never been born.'

But a later clause (CXVI.) makes the modification by giving power to the *grandfather* to allow the succession if he liked to do so.

'It is lawful to everyone, after the death of a son, to confer upon a grandson, the son of that son, whatever would have been due to the son had his father lived.'

This power given to the grandfather to allow succession by a grandson at his discretion confirms the point that originally, under ancient custom, the deceased son's substance had gone back into the communis substantia of the grandfather; otherwise how could he dispose of it?

The point also is interesting that at the date of the Scanian Law the *communis substantia* was vested in the *grandfather* as the *pater familias*, and not in the chief of a wider kindred.

Turning from the Scanian Laws to the *Lex Salica* and its important clause 'De Alodis,' the *alod* seems to include the whole bundle of family rights and property both land and cattle. Its clauses provide for the succession even of females to the inheritance of anyone who dies without leaving sons, and from this it may be inferred that already the succession of sons had been allowed. But a special clause is added to protect the *land* of the alod—the *terra Salica*—from ever passing to female holders, whatever might become of the personalty of the alod.¹

'Concerning, however, terra Salica, let no portion of the inheritance pass to a woman, but let the male sex acquire it—i.e. sons succeed to that inheritance. But when, after a long time, dispute may arise between grandsons or great-grandsons

¹ See Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 150-162.

concerning the alod of land, let the divisions not be per stirpes but per capita.'

It may probably be inferred that while the terra Salica of the alod remained, like the Cymric tir gweliawc, subject to regular division per capita finally between second cousins, the personalty of the tribesmen had already become the subject of succession by sons, and now at last, in default of sons, by females.

The Continental evidence throws special light also on the further point: as to the right of grandsons—sons of a deceased brother—to share with their uncles in the family property when the grandfather was dead and the division between brothers took place in regular course—a point upon which the Cymric Codes are not explicit.

In the Lombardic Laws there are clauses relating to family holdings, and one of the laws of Grimwald has the following heading: ¹

'Concerning the succession of grandsons who, after the death of the father, have remained in the mund of the grandfather (in sinu avi).'

And the enactment is that, on the grandfather's death, sons of a deceased son are 'to take of the substance of the grandfather such part, with their uncles, as their father would have taken had he been alive among his brothers.' And this was a modification of ancient custom as to family holdings, made to meet the more modern sense of justice.

So that originally there had been no succession

¹ Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 292-296.

to a deceased son, in the grandfather's lifetime. It is interesting to note that in this case the division between brothers certainly included personalty.

A similar modification of ancient Norse custom occurs in the Gulathing law under which in the case of Odal land-holding the right was given to the grandsons to redeem from their uncles what would have been the share of their father had he survived. But here again it was only after the grandfather's death that they could do it, the inference being that they must wait for the family division among brothers on his death.¹

Now if we look at all these clauses from the point of view of the Cymric gwely, we recognise at once their significance. Upon the matter of the succession of sons to their deceased father's substance—be it in cattle or grazing rights, or what not—the inference from the Germanic evidence seems to be that under early tribal custom there was originally no succession. It suggests that until later modifications of early custom allowed it the deceased tribesman's substance, whether he had sons or not, went back into the communis substantia of the grandfather as head of the family holding.

And if at the date of the Scanian law the family group was represented by the grandfather, so in the Welsh case at the date of the Codes it might well be that the grandfather as the living head of the gwely was the chief from whom the Welsh tribesman received his cyvarwys and da.

With regard to the further question whether the

¹ Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, p. 284.

successive divisions between brothers, cousins, and second cousins included only the landed rights of the gwely—the homesteads and the rights of grazing and what not—or whether the cattle of the gwely and of the tribesmen were originally also included, there is the valuable precedent that the *alod* under the Lex Salica included both land and personalty.

With regard to the question whether originally in the division on the grandfather's death between brothers the sons of a deceased son were allowed to step into the father's place and take their father's share with their uncles, again the inference must be in the negative, for the evidence of Germanic custom seems to show distinctly that it was only by later modifications of custom that succession by representation was allowed.

Nor would this seem unnatural from the point of view of Welsh custom under the circumstances. For if we try to realise the feelings of the elder generation in the gwely, it will hardly seem extraordinary that uncles should decline to put their nephews, the sons of a deceased brother, on an equality with themselves—i.e. into a higher grade than their sons could be during their lifetime. Why should they not wait till, all the uncles being dead, they should come with the other first cousins to the redivision among them equally per capita?

Regarding all these points together, the conception of the family unit of holding in tribal society in its earlier conditions becomes simple, logical, and consistent. The head of the group (whether of the kindred or the gwely) is the representative holder of the landed rights and the common herd of cattle of

the group; and the individual tribesmen receive their cyvarwys and da by right of 'kin and descent' from the tribe through him, and on their death their cattle received from the chief go back to the chief and are merged in the common herd.

The relation of the tribesmen to the chief was therefore not that of joint-tenants, in the modern sense of the term. It was that of 'man and kin' to the chief, from whom they receive by tribal right homesteads and cattle-yards and allotments of cattle for their maintenance.

Now if in the light thus gained from the comparative evidence of Germanic tribal custom and the modifications of it we examine the Welsh evidence more closely, it may be possible to trace in the Welsh Codes and legal treatises themselves marks of modifications on similar lines. With eye opened by the facts of Germanic custom, we may find perhaps in the Welsh evidence itself what was unnoticed before.

There is at least one quite extraordinary survival (if it may be so regarded) of what might seem to be the result of carrying to a logical extreme the independence of the young tribesman who, having at fourteen ceased to be dependent on his father, had become the 'man and kin' of the chief.

The matter refers to the right of the father on the one hand to receive a share of the galanas or blood-money of his son if murdered, and as to the liability of the father on the other hand to pay a portion of the galanas of a person killed by his son.

It would, indeed, be carrying to a strange extreme the theory of the independence of the son if in these cases the father were neither to pay nor receive any part of the galanas.

In the clause of the Gwentian Code as to payment of galanas, II. i. 14, it is stated:—

'The third of the galanas falls upon the murderer, and the two (other) parts are shared into three shares: two (sub) shares on the kindred of the father, and the (other sub) third on the kindred of the mother.'

This is the rule also in the Venedotian and Dimetian Codes. But in both these Codes the father of the murderer had to pay a part of the third which fell upon his son. And accordingly under these Codes the father likewise received a portion of the galanas of his murdered son. The right to receive a share and the liability to pay a share were correlative. But under the Gwentian Code the father shared neither in the payment if his son were the slayer nor in the receipt of galanas if his son were slain. He paid nothing and received only a penny!

(II. xxxix. 14.) 'Three persons to whom galanas is paid and who pay galanas to no one . . . The third is a father, for a share comes to him of the galanas of his son, to wit one penny, since his son is no relative (kar) to him, and no one of those three is to be killed for galanas.'

Nor can there be any mistake on this point, for in another and quite independent clause (II. viii. 8) of the Gwentian Code it is repeated:—

'A father's share of the galanas of his son-one penny'!

Again, in a legal treatise (W. L. Bk. XIV. xxxviii. 14) supposed to be of the sixteenth century is the following:—

'Can a father complain for the killing of his son? He cannot: he is not within the grades of affinity (carennydd).'

No wonder that on the death of a son without children the father had no right of succession to his da!

Recurring to the right of succession of a son to his father, it is obvious that as gradually this was conceded, a question of the mutual liability for each other's debts would arise and have to be dealt with. So long as the da of the son dying without children went back to the chief, as it did under the Venedotian Code, the chief naturally had to pay the son's debts.

So the liability of a son for his father's debts naturally would follow the recognition of his right of succession to his father's property. The obligation to pay the debt would naturally go with the property. Something like stages in this recognition may be traced in the Codes.

Thus in the Venedotian Code (II. vi. 27 and 28) the question whether a son ought to pay for his father on his father's death in case he was a surety or a debtor, was answered as once doubtful.

'Some say that if that son willeth to deny his suretyship, on the grave of the father the legal denial is to be given.'

But this (which was probably old custom of the time when there was no succession allowed) was omitted in making new law. It was now laid down (succession having been allowed) that it was right for

'the son of that surety who is dead to stand legally for the father . . . and if he have no son, the lord is to act as a son to him.'

And the same rule was to apply to the debtor. His son, or, if there was no son, the lord, must pay the

debt, as in that case the lord stood in the place of a son and took the da of the debtor.

In the Dimetian Code the rule was different. It had been allowed (D.C. II. xxiii. 19) that if after a division among brothers one had died, 'the coinheritors within the three degrees of kin' were to be his heirs, i.e. the members of the gwely. And consistently with this it was ruled that 'the three nearest degrees of kin' were to pay the debt of a tribesman dying in debt (II. vi. 21): i.e. the members of the gwely were to pay it. And this seems to point to a stage or condition of things in which, on the death of a member of the gwely, his da fell into the common stock of the gwely from whose chief it had probably been received.

Pursuing the question of succession to the da of a tribesman dying without a son still further, it seems that while at first it went back, as we have seen, to the chief or to the gwely, it ultimately was allowed to go to the father. And here again we may trace the steps by which the change was effected.

In the Venedotian Code (II. xxviii. 9) the lord is to receive the da in this case, as we have seen. And this is reiterated in a legal treatise of about A.D. 1401 (W. L. X. xvii. 31). But in a later treatise, said to be of the fifteenth century, and evidently belonging to a stage after the succession of sons to a father's property had been allowed, the next step is gained.

'As a son is heir to patrimony $(dref\ y\ dat)$, so a father is heir to the son's $da\ (da\ y\ mab)$ unless he have an heir.'

This was logical enough, and shows how one step in the disintegration of original custom led to another, and how rights of succession gradually grew up within the gwely.

As regards land held more or less in individual ownership outside the gwelys, the right of succession, having been given in Howell's time to sons, was ultimately extended to females.

In the Dimetian Code (II. xxiii. 7) it is stated that

'If an owner of land (perchen) have no other heir than a daughter, the daughter is to be heiress of the whole land.'

Nor was this altogether without precedent, even within the gwelys, for though as to land there is no trace of the succession of daughters, the Venedotian Code (II. i. 64) allowed that a daughter might succeed to the da of her father along with her brothers, taking half a brother's share, and, as we have seen, succession to cattle came very near to succession in grazing rights also.

This mention of land outside the gwelys leads to another point upon which something perhaps should be said. To the student of the Welsh Codes nothing is more perplexing than the mixture, so to speak, of clauses relating now to the family land of the gwelys and at other times to what seems to be more or less individual ownership of land. The two systems seem to be going on side by side, and unless they can be disentangled there is very apt to be uncertainty and confusion. Here, again, I think the comparative evidence of Germanic custom may help us to some extent.

Few more useful suggestions have been made towards the understanding of Anglo-Saxon land-law than that of Professor Vinogradoff as to the distinction between boc-land and folc-land. He suggests that boc-land is that land which has become the subject of charters and conditions of the more modern type. Folc-land, he suggests, is that land which is still the subject of tribal custom.

I have ventured to extend the scope of this suggestion to a similar discrimination in the Lex Salica between two distinct methods or systems of land ownership, viz. between the res propria of the 'Romanus possessor' of land, and the family ownership under Salic custom of the terra Salica or land of the alod.¹

May we not again apply the same suggestion to the distinction in the Welsh Codes between land held more or less under individual ownership and land held by the gwelys in family possession under tribal custom?

It is important to observe that on the conquest of North Wales it was found to be impossible to bring all Welsh land under the English system of land tenure. The Statute of Rhuddlan gave the choice between Welsh custom and English law, with the result that the two systems were left to work side by side till the Statute of Henry VIII. at last brought everything nominally under English law, to the great perplexity of English lawyers.

But here a caution is needful. Whether we speak of Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, or Welsh economic conditions, it would be wrong to jump to the conclusion that the contrast and conflict was simply between the family holdings of tribal custom and the

¹ Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, p. 158.

individual ownership of more modern legal tenures introduced from outside. We must not forget that within the rule of tribal custom there was something like demesne land in the possession or under the control of chieftains let out often to tenants who were not tribesmen but strangers in blood. And this land outside the gwelys and under quasi-individual occupation and ownership was as truly under the control of tribal custom as the gwelys themselves. It played a part which cannot be ignored in tribal society, and that by no means only in its later stages.

Even upon the demesne land of the chieftain tribal custom imposed many of the restraints involved in family solidarity. And this is just as clearly shown in the earlier as in the later grants made to the monasteries by the chieftains. The consent of members of the family seems generally to have been required to give validity to grants of this kind.

Apart, however, from the chieftain's demesne lands, there was land seemingly held under more modern legal conditions of ownership.

The Codes and treatises use the word perchen for owners of this more modern type. The term is never, I think, applied to the tribesmen in the gwelys. The word applied to these is priodawr, implying possession by tribal or hereditary right. But, though an owner in the sense of his being free from the tribal rules of division among brothers, cousins, and second cousins, the individual owner was not free altogether from the traditional ties of family solidarity. Even in the later legal treatises the consent of heirs is required to alienation.

The following is from a legal treatise of about the fifteenth century (W. L. XI. i. 3).

'(3) An owner of land (perchen tir) having no heir of his body can appropriate his land to whomsoever he will. If there be an heir, however, to an owner of land, he cannot do so; for the owner of land cannot disinherit his heir, nor assign his land to anyone without the consent of his heir, except for their joint interest, to wit during his own time; or through his being pressed by one of the imperative necessities, which free a person's selling his land without consent of his heir; such as necessity for meat and drink, or for money to pay his debt.'

This clause clearly refers only to land in individual ownership. For if there be no heir, the owner has apparently full power of alienation, which he never could have under the family holding of a gwely.

Nothing could mark more clearly the contrast between the two systems of land-holding than another set of clauses in the same legal treatise relating to family holdings. The question is in what court a tribesman's claim is to be sued for by 'kin and descent' (W. L. XI. v. 7).

And the ruling is that if the claim affected only the members of the gwely, it might be sued for in the court of *cymwd* or *cantrev* to which the land pertained, because

'As between brothers and cousins and second cousins, every one of those knows the propriate share which he is entitled to have according to law.'

But, on the other hand, if the claim had its origin further back than the third descent, then it must be sued for in the sovereign court.

The clauses are instructive enough to be worth

quoting, because of the incidental light they throw upon the gwelys, and the reality of the tribesman's rights within the wider kindred.

In Clause 9 of the same chapter is the following:—

'(9) This is the reason that a plaint of kin and descent from the third degree onwards cannot be determined in the court of a cymwd or cantrev, because a plaint of kin and descent cannot be pursued but against a stock (welygordd) of co-relatives to the person who shall claim the land, and who shall be holding that land through the same common ancestor from which he likewise claims a share with them in right thereof and being able to trace his unextinguished kin, by oaths of the elders of the country to himself without three times lapsing to the distaff. And lest such land should chance to be in diverse canghellor-ships after being shared among the family stock (welygordd) . . . so as not to be cognisable in the court of a cymwd or cantrev, it was established for a suit of that nature to belong to the sovereign court, so that every one of the family stock might be compelled by the effect of one conjoined plaint to answer jointly to such as should question them.'

The next clause proceeds thus:-

- '(10) For it is not regular to move a plaint from court to court for one matter, nor to prefer a plaint, against one person, or two, or three, of kin and descent from the third degree onward when there are more of the family stock (welygordd) holding the land in opposition to him [the claimant]: because it may happen for an inheritance of land to have descended in small shares, among forty or sixty co-inheritors; and one among the family stock (welygordd)—his [the claimant's] father or his grandfather or his great-grandfather—might be out of the country and without having had a share.
- '(11) And on that account it was settled for that claim to belong to the sovereign court where everybody could be compelled to answer jointly. And if he should there succeed, then he is to be admitted to participate with them; and he would be allotted an equality with each of the united number that should be holding the land in opposition to him.'

Here there is still at work under tribal custom,

presumably in the fifteenth century, the system of family holding under the rules of tir gwelyawc.

The case put is that the claimant's great-grandfather may have been out of the country, and so may never have got his proper share in the division three generations ago.

The claim might therefore affect the wider group of kindred comprised in what is spoken of as the 'gwelygordd' in distinction from the gwely. The gwelygordd included a wider group than the gwely. No matter that three generations may have passed since the division in which his great-grandfather should have had a share, his claim is not yet barred, and as we learn from the Codes, would not have been barred till a descendant in the ninth generation made his claim too late. Within that limit the tribesman had a right to his cyvarwys and his da.

In conclusion, on consideration of the Welsh and the Germanic evidence together, and the light thrown by one on the other, may we not say that through the common influence of Roman and ecclesiastical law, and the altered sense of justice which came in with them, there can be traced a common process of change moving upon remarkably similar lines towards the disintegration of tribal society on both sides of the Channel—in both Celtic and Germanic experience?

And, further, may we not gather from the comparative evidence that this change took effect in Welsh custom from both outside and inside the gwely—that from outside it was felt in the increased independence of the gwely—the weakening of the control of the wider kindred over it—at the same time that from

inside the gwely the family solidarity also was loosened?

It would seem probable that by the time of the conquest of Wales by Edward I., and the making of the surveys and extents, the head of the narrower family group of the gwely had become the chief in whom the family rights and herds—the communis substantia of the Scanian laws—had become vested, and that, on the other hand, the growing individualism had by that time progressed so far within the gwely that on the death of a member of the gwely his da no longer went back to the chief, or into the common stock of the gwely, but was allowed to pass by inheritance to his children.

If we may take this to have been roughly the stage that had been reached in the gradual disintegration of tribal custom, it may help us at the same time to recognise that under earlier tribal custom the chief of the organised unit of the greater kindred may have been the chief of whom the young tribesman became the 'man and kin,' and from whom he received his da, while at the same time the absence of any recognition under earlier custom of the right of succession of sons to their father's da may have logically and naturally resulted in the return of the da of the deceased tribesman into the common stock of the group of kindred from whose chief it came.

The importance of the wider kindred to the ninth degree of descent from a common ancestor is emphasised by the description of it in the Codes and later treatises as an organised unit under its recognised 'pencenell,' or 'chief of kindred,' its seven elders,

and other officials. There would further be a reasonable consistency in the tribesman's obtaining direct from the chief of kindred that provision for main tenance which he claimed by kin and descent from the kindred. It would also be in accordance with Sir Henry Maine's suggestion that the primitive patriarchal chieftain must have had duties which balanced his rights.

'I conceive (he wrote in his "Ancient Law") that if he disposed absolutely of the persons and fortunes of his clansmen this representative ownership was co-extensive with a liability to provide for all members of the brotherhood out of the common fund.'

The importance of the organised kindred may seem to have lessened as time went on, but it did not vanish altogether. The more or less organised kindred remained a necessary element in tribal polity.

In the passages quoted above from a later treatise it is made clear that the tribesman's right to his tribal provision, even in later times, reached back farther than the gwely to a remoter stock, a gwely-gordd embracing several gwelys.

And, again, it must not be forgotten that the payment and receipt of galanas for murder was a matter, not between tribesmen or gwelys of the same kindred, but between kindreds, although within the kindred those nearest in relationship to the slayer or the slain had to pay or receive the largest share in the galanas.

That under earlier conditions the community of cattle and grazing rights may have vested in the chief of kindred rather than as later in the gwely would not necessarily prevent the gwely from having been the unit of family holding under both earlier and later custom.

There must always have been, as under Irish custom, a hierarchy of chieftains one above the other, from the head of the gwely and the chief of kindred to the chieftain of the tribe. And as under Irish custom the link between the grades of chieftains was the allotment or loan of cattle so it may have been in Wales also.

The chieftain of the wider kindred, though in theory representing the descendants of a common ancestor, could never himself have been, like the head of the gwely, the actual ancestor of the group of his own descendants.

In this respect the gwely was the Welsh tribal unit corresponding most closely to the Roman group under the patria potestas.

In the gwely the great-grandfather was either actually living or had been so sufficiently near in memory to be so regarded. The group of his descendants was a complete agnatic group, for daughters were married into other gwelys, remaining only under the guardianship of the gwely from which they came. The descendants of daughters were not members or co-heirs in the gwely except when, having been married to non-tribesmen, their sons were allowed tribal rights in their mothers' gwely.

In these points the gwely resembled the group under the patria potestas.

This, too, was a family group held together by a common descent and obedience to the highest living ascendant, whether father, grandfather or great grand-

father. The *potestas* was that of a living ancestor over the person and property of his descendants, and though the power over their persons was early diminished, that over their property remained a more or less permanent element in Roman law.

The agnatic character of the group included in the gwely was not destroyed by the at first sight anomalous fact that within the wider kindred maternal relations participated in the receipt and payment of galanas. For though the descendants of daughters were not included in the gwely, they were included in the wider kindred if they had been married into a gwely within it. If the daughters had been married away into another kindred, it may well be assumed that their sons would have no right or obligation to receive or to pay what was the claim or obligation of a kindred to which they did not belong.

There is therefore, I think, no reason to conclude that there was any real clashing between the gwely and the wider organised kindred as parts of original tribal arrangements, although in the course of time some of the powers and obligations of the chief of kindred may under later conditions have descended to the head of the smaller group.

Something like the same kind of transition or descent may have already taken place in Roman custom by the time that the *patria potestas* of the living ancestor had become a fixed element in Roman law.

That there were resemblances between the Welsh gwely and the group under the Roman patria potestas need not lead to the suggestion of common origin or borrowing by one from the other. Sir Henry Maine

seems, indeed, to have thought that 'a considerable element of debased Roman law may have existed in the barbarian systems,' but even so the comparative evidence we have considered would not lead to the supposition that it materially affected the core of indigenous custom of both Celtic and Germanic tribes.

The attempt to separate the elements of original tribal custom from the changes which came upon it almost everywhere in Western Europe under Roman and ecclesiastical influences may not have been in everything successful. But when we see rights of succession creeping in practically on similar lines in the case of widely separated tribes, whether the contact with the new order of things came upon them in the sixth or the twelfth century, the uniformity in the changes enables us to recognise them as such, and to seek for the more original body of tribal custom behind them. Not that we regard even this condition of early custom as the ultimate and primary one, but rather as representing a stage of economic evolution in Western Europe which we have found it worth our while to try to understand.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

This volume contains the first part of an essay which may be described as an amplification of the very imperfect sections on the Welsh Tribal System published more than ten years ago in my 'English Village Community.'

It is confined to an attempt to understand the structure of tribal society in Wales. The methods of tribal society in Wales and the extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems are left to form the subject of another volume. It seemed best to print this part of the essay separately, so that the Welsh evidence might be considered on its own merits, without the subject being involved at this stage in the greater difficulties which arise so soon as the ground covered by the remarkably full and detailed Welsh documentary evidence is departed from.

The methods of the Welsh tribal system come, indeed, more or less within the range of this documentary evidence, and might well add, incidentally, great strength to some of the conclusions as to the structure of tribal society in Wales. But as it is mainly through comparison of the Welsh methods

in detail with those of neighbouring systems that the links are obtained by which the connections are established, it seems best to leave the consideration of the Welsh methods to that part of the inquiry which is relegated to another volume.

The documentary evidence above referred to will be found, I think, to justify the stress laid upon the Welsh system as a stepping-stone to wider knowledge. So much of it is unpublished, and remains in manuscripts not easily accessible to the general student, that it became necessary to print at full length in the Appendices the passages most relied upon, as leading up to an understanding of the Welsh Codes, and to the establishment on a firm basis of the main facts of tribal customary law.

For the careful transcription and the correction of the proof-sheets of these copious extracts I have to thank the care and skill of Mr. W. K. Boyd.

The value of the several manuscripts for the purpose in hand will become evident as the inquiry proceeds, especially that of the Denbigh Extent, an original copy of which, through the kindness of Colonel Howard, of Wygfair, has been placed entirely at my disposal. An Extent which enters so fully into detail, and describes survivals of the tribal system actually at work throughout a considerable district at the time of the English conquest of North Wales, could not fail to afford the best possible ground from which to proceed to the study of the customary law contained in the Codes.

¹ This copy is now in my possession (1904).

As regards the Codes and legal treatises contained in the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' I will not forestall what is said in the text further than to express the belief that they will be found to fall into their right place when regarded as links in the chain of evidence as to the character of tribal custom which existed both before and after them.

Respecting the earlier evidence great caution is no doubt necessary. I cannot pretend to have said the last word upon a subject so difficult. But I have done my best to place the reader in the position to draw his own conclusions by giving careful transcriptions of the original text of the documents chiefly relied upon, side by side with the translations. And I trust their interest and importance will justify the use I have made of them.

I am much indebted to the officials in the Public Record Office and the Manuscript Department of the British Museum for help ungrudgingly given in connection with the documents under their charge.

I have not often in this volume referred to the conclusions of previous inquirers, because I was unwilling to appear in any way to write in a controversial spirit; but this is no reason why I should not here fully acknowledge the value of Mr. A. NEOBARD PALMER'S excellent work, all the more striking because it has been confined mainly to facts which have come within his own local knowledge and researches. Nor have I neglected to consult the more extended, but at the same time more speculative, work of the late Mr. H. LEWIS.

I am aware that to the Celtic scholar the work of an economic inquirer, making no pretence to a knowledge of the Welsh language, will in itself have the appearance of presumption. But if his taste should be offended by the avoidance of any attempt to translate the spelling used in the documents into modern Welsh, and by the use of English plurals to words which in such a connection become technical terms, his anger will, I hope, be disarmed by the candour with which the writer's ignorance of the language is frankly confessed.

I have to thank my friend, Professor Rhys, for many useful hints given, and the avoidance thereby of some of the linguistic pitfalls to which a stranger to the Welsh language was necessarily liable.

I trust that shortcomings of the kind above alluded to will not prevent the reader from appreciating the full weight of whatever economic conclusions may be legitimately drawn from the evidence itself.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the value of a substantial knowledge of the facts of one tribal system as a key with which to unlock the riddles of others. Nor is it necessary to point out the importance of a knowledge of the Tribal System, wherever found, as an almost universal factor in the early development of European society, and in the formation of mediæval institutions.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge the invaluable and constant help I have received from my son, whose study of the remains of the tribal

system amongst the Greeks will, I hope, shortly be published, and form a useful contribution to the

subject.

I have also to express my gratitude for the encouragement received from other fellow-workers in Economic History in the course of the studies which have resulted in this volume.

F. S.

THE HERMITAGE, HITCHIN: March 1895.

N.B.—I have again to thank fellow-workers, and especially Professor Vinogradoff, Professor Maitland, Sir F. Pollock, and Mr. A. N. Palmer in connection with the 'Introductory Note' to this second edition. I have also to thank Professor Kovalewsky for his appreciative review in the Revue Internationale de Sociologie (1897).

To this edition I have added (in Appendix F.) a transcript of an Inquisition of 24 Edward I., including extents made in 8 Edward I (1280), three years after the peace with Rhys ap Mareduc. The ratification of this peace by Prince Llewelyn in 1277 (Rym. Fæd. i. 542-5), confirming the customs previous to the war, enables us to regard the division of the 'comots' in these extents into 'Westuas,' or gwestva paying units, as of earlier tribal origin.

It having been found that reference in this volume to the pages of the two volumes of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales' is inconvenient to those readers who have access only to the single volume edition, I have so altered the references as to embrace both editions by making them refer to chapters and clauses in the Codes and the legal treatises. Thus V. C. III. xxi. 9, refers to the book chapter and clause of the Venedotian Code, and W. L. II. xii. 8, to book chapter and clause in the legal treatises of the second volume.

F. S.

THE HERMITAGE, HITCHIN: August 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

THE LAND SYSTEM IN ANGLESEY, AS DESCRIBED IN THE EXTENTS.

I. THE CYMWDS AND CANTREFS OF ANGLESEY.

In order to secure a firm basis from which to work backwards from the known to the unknown, it is proposed to commence the inquiry by the examination of a typical and well-known Welsh district as described in the various surveys or Extents made since the final conquest of North Wales.

Extents of Anglesey

Manor of Aberffraw.

CHAP, I.

The Isle of Anglesey presents a convenient geographical area for the purpose, and the so-called Manor of *Aberfiraw*, on the south coast of it, a remarkably good example of a so-called 'manorial' unit.

Several Extents of the island are extant in the Public Record Office and elsewhere, the earliest being made in 22 Edward I. (A.D. 1294) only a few years after the conquest.¹

The Isle of Anglesey, according to the Extents, was divided into three *cantrefs*, each of them embracing two *cymwds*.²

In each cantref a chieftain's residence, called a

See Appendix A. | cluded the two cymwds of Mall-

Снар. І.

manor, formed a centre for the dependent villæ or hamlets scattered over the area of the two cymwds.

The Manor of Aberffraw was one of these central manors, and is of special interest as the royal seat, from early times, of the Princes of North Wales (successors of Cunedda and his sons), till the final defeat of Prince Llewelyn and the annexation to England in 1282.

These describe services before the conquest.

The earliest Extents describe the condition of things on the so-called Manors of Anglesev after the conquest. But from the result of a petition made in the year 1305, and repeated in 1314, it appears that the services mentioned in the survey of 22 Edward I. were the services before the conquest i.e. the services by ancient Welsh custom under the native Welsh princes, and not fresh ones imposed after the conquest. In this petition the villeins of the Manor of Penros complained that a mistake had been made in the former 'Extent,' and the answer to the petition was the grant of a new inquiry to be made on the spot by the Justice of North Wales, 'who caused to come before him the best people to know and certify to him what were the customs and services which the said villeins made and ought to make in the time of the Princes of Wales.'1

The services, therefore, described in the earliest Extent, although it was made after the conquest, may be taken as the services of the tenants under Llewelyn and his predecessors.

The cantref of *Rhos* included the two cymwds of *Menay* and *Tyndaethwy*. The cantref of *Kemmeys* contained the two cymwds of *Talybolion* and *Turkelyn*.

¹ Rolls Parl. 8 Ed. III. i. 308, and small parchment schedule sewn on to the Roll of the Survey of 1294, and see Appendix A c.



Longmuns, Green & C! London, New York & Bumbay.



So far everything is clear.

Снар. І.

But the Extent was taken by Norman officials, who saw what was to be seen with Norman eyes, and recorded such facts as they found in the legal Latin of Norman lawyers with an admixture of such Welsh terms as defied easy translation.

When, therefore, in their description of the four The surhead 'manors,' as they called them, of the cymwds things and cantrefs of Anglesey, an attempt was made to through Norman press them into the mould of Norman common forms, eyes. it is very likely, indeed, that they made too rapid a generalisation of their main features according to a priori conceptions of what a manor ought to be, and it becomes needful to discriminate between the facts and the terms in which they may be stated.

The Extent which enters most fully into details, included in the 'Record of Carnaryon,' affords at once an instance in point. It was made not only after the conquest, but also unfortunately after the Black Death, and thus after the rearrangements and alterations inevitably following a great depopulation. It contains many incidental marks which show that Wales had suffered with the rest of the world in this great catastrophe.

The makers of this Extent describe the head manors of the cantrefs of Anglesey as de trina natura, and, knowing the Welsh love of triads, this might at first sight be taken as a specially Welsh characteristic. But closer examination leads to the conclusion that the surveyors were using terms of their own, and classifying the tenants under three heads for purposes of their own, rather than describing a triple constitution necessarily belonging to the Welsh

CHAP. I. system under Welsh chieftainship. It is well to clear out of the way at the outset this otherwise misleading generalisation of the makers of the 'Record of Carnaryon.'

Both the *Manerium de Kemmeys* and that of *Penros* are stated to be *de trina natura—i.e.* there are said to be in them people called ¹—

- 1. Gwir Male, or people paying 'mal,' or money tribute.
- 2. Gwir Gweith, or people doing services or work.
- 3. Gwir Tir Borth, or people on 'Board land.'

These two manors are the centres of the two cymwds of *Talybolion* and *Turkelyn* combined in one cantref, and are therefore probably described in the same terms by the same hand. But the manor of *Rosfair*, in the cymwd of *Menay*, though also described as *de trina natura*, is said to contain the following three classes of tenants,² viz.—

- 1. Puri Nativi vocati mairdreve.
- 2. Alii Nativi qui se dicunt esse liberos nativos.
- 3. Alii Nativi vocati Gardynemen.

If the liberi nativi of Rosfair be taken as equivalent to the Gwir Male of Kemmeys and Penros, and the puri nativi of Rosfair as equivalent to the Gwir Gweith of the other manors, still the trina natura, as a uniform system, breaks down in the third class. The tenants on tir borth hold 'gavells,' and pay from 12s. 7d. to 13s. 4d. each, and 5s. relief and 2s. amobr, while the Gardynemen of Rosfair pay only from 8d. to 2s. each, and their relief is only 2s. and amobr 2s.

¹ Record of Carnarvon, pp. | ² Id. p. 83. 63, 64, and p. 70.

There is apparently no analogy between the Rosfair Chap. I. cottagers with gardens and the tenants on 'tir borth' of the other manors with their 'gavells,' and a further examination into the details leads to the conclusion that the 'triple nature' of these manors is one of Norman classification, and did not represent a real feature of the Welsh tribal system.

Whilst declining, therefore, to be misled by the Need of too rapid generalisation of the Norman makers of accepting the Extent contained in the 'Record of Carnarvon,' Norman terms. and still recurring again and again to it for valuable details, we turn to the earlier Extent 1 of 22 Edward I. as that most likely to represent the condition of Anglesev before the conquest.

In the description of the manors this Extent makes no mention of the trina natura, but English manorial precedents are nevertheless closely followed.

II. THE SO-CALLED MANOR OF ABERFFRAW.

Commencing with the Prince's own manor of Position Aberffraw, we get an unbiassed and direct introduction manor of into our subject.

Aberffraw.

The village of Aberffraw is placed at the mouth of the river Ffraw just where it ceases to be tidal and begins to pass through a triangular reach of sands into the sea.

The Aberffraw mill is placed on the river, where doubtless it has always been, just above high tide.

Rentals and Surveys, Roll, 768. Another copy, Rentals and Survevs, Roll, 769. And see App. Aa.

¹ Chapter House, County Bags, Wallia, Box 143 B, No. 34. Extent of Anglesey, 22 Ed. I. (13 Mch. 1294). Public Record Office, now

CHAP. I. The church is ancient, for it contains a fine old Norman arch and stands on an ancient site on the high ground above the river. Near to this was the palace of the Welsh princes. Between this and the river lie now, as centuries ago, the little strips or gardens of the cottagers, now called 'lleiniau,' and divided by turf balks.

Divided by the river into two parts.

The territory included in what was called the manor in the Extents was divided into two parts by the river *Ffraw*, and the broad, sandy, and marshy tract on the east side of it (called the *Tywyn Aber-ffraw*) runs far into the land, nearly up to the '*Llyn Coron*,' from which the *Ffraw* river flows.

There was a second mill on the stream above the Llyn called *Dyndroval*, and a third on another stream N.W. of Aberffraw called *Melin-y-Bont*.

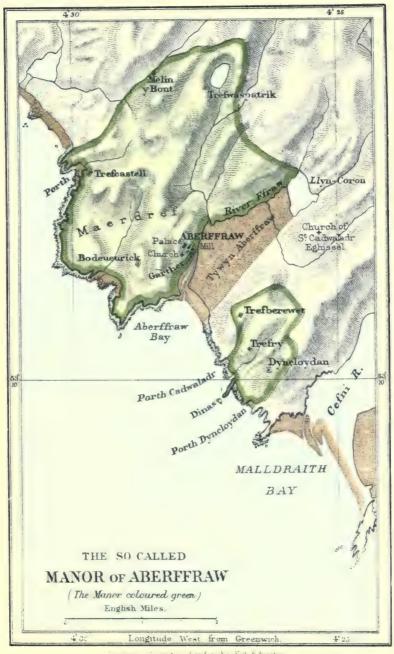
The western portion of the manor lies behind the site of the palace, and forms a blunt promontory between the Ffraw river and the next bay. It also extends to the north a few miles inland.

Parish of St. Cadwaladr. The eastern portion makes a similar promontory between the *Tywyn Aberffraw* and the tidal estuary of the river *Cefni*. But this eastern part of the manor is abruptly cut off from extension inland by the parish of St. Cadwaladr, which, apparently from the sixth or seventh century, by grant of the ancestors of the Welsh princes, was handed over to the Church, and freed from tribal or other secular services to them.

One of the features of the position of the manor

¹ The boundaries are given at Ancient Surveys, vol. 17 (24), the end of the Survey of 1608, f. 62.

Land Revenue, Record Office,





of Abersfraw is the access to the sea all along the Chap. I. rocky coast for small boats in the numerous 'porths' or natural harbours running up between ridges of rock and ending in a sandy beach.

The parish of Cadwaladr has its own little porth Porths -porth Cadwaladr-and each member of the manor of refuge. near the coast had its own porth in the same way bearing its name. It sometimes also had its own place of refuge for cattle in a rocky peninsula running out into the sea, called a dinas and bearing its name

There are several manuscript Extents or surveys The of the Manor of Aberffraw more or less in detail Extents. and bearing date 1294, 1339, 1351, 1352 ('Record of Carnarvon'), and 1608 (see Appendix A).

The various members or hamlets of the manor are, with little exception, traceable throughout this remarkable series, and they are still easily recognised on the ground and on the Ordnance map in the names of the most substantial farmhouses of the modern estates.

Garthey.

The Extents before the Black Death describe first The what in the Domesday Survey would have been The called the lord's demesne, including 5 carucates of Maerdref land, 3 mills, 2 meadows, and the fishery. This demesne land embraced what the later Extents describe as the hamlets of Garthey (consisting of 14 gardens near the church), of Maerdref (the tref under the land maer of the Welsh Codes—the home farm of the manor), and Irefcastell,1 The

Trefcastell is described in that time occupied one of the the Extent of 1351 as part of the carncates. terra dominica. Its tenants at

CHAP. I. continuity as between the Extents may be thus stated:—

1608	1352 Record of Carnarvon	1351	1339	1294
Garther and Mayerdref Treffcastell	Garthey Mairdref Drefcastell	4 carucates 3 mills 2 meadows piscaria Trefcastell occupying 5th car.	5 carucates 3 mills 2 meadows	5 carucates 3 mills 2 meadows piscaria

The free tenants.

Under the head of free tenants are the following holdings described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as 'Weles' (literally 'beds'), being tribal homesteads:—

1608	1352	1351	1339	1294
	(Free Weles)			
	Wele Porthorion			_
Free	Wele Simond		Newson	
tenants	Wele Bodeueurik	Bodenervk	Bodeneuryk	Bodeueurick
	Wele Trewaspadrik	Trewaspatrik	Trewaspatrik	Trefwaspatryk
1	Gavel Sayr	<u> </u>		

The unfree outlying hamlets. Lastly the unfree and outlying hamlets, not on the demesne, but situated on the other side of the river in the eastern portion of the manor, were as follows:—

1608 1352		1352	1351	1339	1294
	Trefry Tinlloydan	Trefry Dynloidan	Dynthladan	Tref berwyth Dynthlodan Keuyntreffrau	Dyneloydan

It is curious to notice that the Norman officials just after the conquest confine themselves to Norman terms, and that such Welsh terms as 'Garthey' and 'Maerdref' and 'Weles' and 'Gavells' seem to revive in the Extents made after the Black Death.

This is explained by the remarkable tenacity of CHAP. I. Welsh custom and the extraordinary continuity secured by it from one Extent to the other for 300 years after the conquest.

These surviving terms help to bridge over the periods before and after the conquest, and so to connect the Codes and the Extents.

One feature common to both is the location of the free and bond tenants in separate hamlets or groups of homesteads. Each class of hamlets must therefore be separately examined.

III. THE FREE TENANTS OF ABERFFRAW.

The free tenants are described in the 'Record of The free Carnarvon' as occupying Weles. We shall see here-occupy in after that the wele 1 or gwely was, strictly speaking, rather the family or kindred occupying the hamlet than the hamlet itself, and that mostly a hamlet was occupied by several weles.

In the Extents the old food rents of the free tenants or weles had already been commuted into money payments. And these money payments were evidently treated as not charges upon persons but permanent charges upon the holdings in occupation at the time of the conquest. They were scrupulously respected by the conquerors, and have mostly been left unaltered from that time to this. The amounts of these rents are practically the same, even to the small details, in the Extent of 1294 and that of 1339 half a century later. And comparing these with the later surveys and Extents the evidence is

Pronounced ' welly ' as ' qwely.'

Снар. І.

conclusive of the literal truth of the historical statement that the rents of the free tenants remained unaltered by the conquest of Wales.

The rents of free tenants.

The rents of the free tenants in the Extent of 1294 are stated as follows:—

	£	8.	d.
	1	9	8
	0	15	11
	0	10	0
	£2	15	7
	 	0	0 15

They are the same in the Inquisition of 1339. They are the same in the Extent of 1351 after the Black Death.

They are the same in total in the 'Record of Carnarvon' in 1352, though somewhat varied in the classification of them and increased by two additional items.

The record commences with the statement that there were 4 free weles, viz.:—

		£	8.	d.
Wele Porthorion paying		1	1	0
Wele Simond ,,		0	3	2
Wele Bodeueurik "		0	17	11
Wele Trefwaspadrik,,		0	13	6
		₽9.	15	7

exactly the old amount; to which are added:-

		£	8.	d.
Gavell Sayr (carpenter's gavell)		0	3	8
4.3	5	0	3	6
4 bovates (escheat)	1	0	1	0
				_
Making the total		£3	8	9

They remain the same for centuries.

25

Finally in the Survey of 1608 the Summa Totalis of the 'Rents of Assize of Free Tenants'=3l. 3s. 9d.

These money payments are the amounts into

which the ancient food rents of the free tribesmen CHAP. I. were commuted, and the continuity, as already pointed out, shows that they were regarded as charges on particular lands or holdings, and not personal charges. Many of them are still payable as ancient quit rents throughout North Wales.

Besides these money payments there were, how- Their ever, customary services. Although the Extent of 1294 mentions no services beyond the money rents of the free tenants, there is other evidence that services were due from them. These are set out at length in the 'Record of Carnarvon.' 1

The Wele Porthorion (or Homestead of the Gate- The Wele keepers) did suit at the Courts of the cymwd and of the gate. cantref. The heredes of it were liable to payment of a fine or relief of 10s. on the entry of a new tenant, and an amobr of the same amount on the marriage of their daughters. For their grinding they went to the Prince's mill at Aberffraw. There they ground their wheat and malt without toll, and all other grain at a toll of 1 measure. And they made and repaired one vechme of the wall of the lord's manor house on one side of the gate and another vechme of wall on the other side of the gate. And if the Prince were at home they had from him meat and drink for nine men whilst making the wall.

The heredes of Wele Simond were liable to the same suit at Court and mill, and the same amounts of relief and amobr, but did no work on the wall.

The heredes of Wele Bodeueurik (if the early spell- The Wele ing Bodeueurik may be trusted, possibly the Home- of the smith.

¹ Record of Carnarvon, p. 48.

CHAP, I.

stead of the Smith—literally, of the *Goldsmith*) and the *Wele Trewaspatrick* (of servants of Patrick) paid the same suit and relief &c., and instead of work on the wall were liable to the *kilgh hebbogothion* or service in connection with the hawking expeditions of the Prince or his chief falconer.

Of the carpenter.

The heredes of the Gavell of the Sayr or carpenter were liable to the same relief and amobr, but not liable to the work on the palace wall or the hawking service.

These homesteads seem to be those of officers of the Court, and may well have been direct survivals of the times before the conquest.

They are officers of the Prince.

The amount of the payment for relief (the Norman equivalent for the Welsh *ebediw* or death fee) and the *amobr* or maiden fee payable on marriage or incontinence, viz. 10s., suggests that these free tenants on the demesne were subordinate officers of the Court holding their land upon free tenure for their services.¹

The holding of the *Porthorion* or gatekeepers at the Porter's Lodge was probably a survival from before the conquest. Though no prince now lived at the Palace of Aberffraw, its walls were not at once allowed to decay. It continued as a Court and a prison if not as a palace. The porter (*porthaur*) under the Venedotian Code was an important official. He had his dwelling in the gateway, and had charge of the great gate,² and in his house lodged the King's

of the principal officers of the palace were 20s., of the subordinate officers 10s., of inferior per-

sons 5s.—Ancient Laws of Wales, W.L. XIV. x. 17.

² Venedotian Code, I. xi. 9.

and the Queen's 'door-wards.' He was to summon Chap. I. the men of the Maerdref to work. His land and the land of the door-wards were free by reason of their office, and having the responsibility of the gate it was natural (though not stated in the Code) that the responsibility of keeping the wall on both sides of the gate in repair should rest upon the gatekeepers and be attached to their land 2

The smiths and the carpenters may also well be survivals. According to the Venedotian Code, the smith of the Court had to do all needful work for the palace (except certain things) and had his land free on account of his office. His work could hardly be dispensed with, whether the shoeing of horses or the mending of the ploughs of the Maerdref, or of the hinges of the gates, or the fastening or unfastening of the prisoners' chains, all of which were items of his duty under the Codes.3

There is a small fragment of the Court Roll of Aberffraw, dated 1346, at the Record Office, 4 which shows that the porters still had charge of the prison, for it contains an entry of a fine on the porters for allowing prisoners to escape.

The examination of another Extent will elicit further information respecting the free tenants or successors of the Welsh free tribesmen. The Extents

¹ Venedotian Code, I. xx. 7, I. xxvi.

² Id. I. xxvi.

³ Id. I. xl. and I. vii. 11. There were Smiths on other manors, as well as other officers. Thus on the manor of Penros in Anglesey

there were gavells of the Carpenter (Sair), of the Smiths (Govent). of the Gatekeepers (Porthorion) and of the Squires (Huysorion).

⁴ Crt. Rolls, Bundle 215, No. 13 (Record Office). See App. Ad.

CHAP. I. of Aberffraw reveal mainly the relations to the chieftain of those who were subordinate court officials.

IV. THE SO-CALLED 'VILLANI' AND 'NATIVI' OF ABERFFRAW.

Some of the so-called *villani* or *nativi* of the Extent of 1294 were located on the *demesne land* of the Prince, and others in detached hamlets.

The demesne, according to the Extent of 1294, consisted of five carucates and two meadows.

The villani or nativi of the Maerdref.

From the other Extents we learn that it included the hamlets of the *Maerdref* and *Garther* and *Tref*castell.

The services of the tenants of all these are described under the heading *The Villani of Aberfraw*, *i.e.* the villani of the demesne, as apart from the outlying hamlets in which other groups of *villani* were placed.

The cottiers' gardens.

The gardens of the *villani* or cottier tenants included under the head *Garther* in the later surveys can hardly be other than those already mentioned as still divided by their turf balks and lying under the shadow of the church and formerly under the palace walls, close to the village where their 'cubiculi' or cabins were huddled together very much as the cottages are now in the present village.

They are described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as consisting of :—

14 gardens of terra nativa paying rents varying from 16d. to 7s. They did suit at the lord's mill at Aberffraw. They pay on account of staurum, and do carriage service. [There is no mention of relicf or amobr. Probably they were people too small to have to pay on these accounts.]

¹ Record of Carnarvon, p. 49.

The rest of the demesne consisted of the Maerdref Chap. I. and Trefcastell with the five carucates (say 600 acres) of land. The Maerdref was the Prince's home farm, the home and Trefcastell, with the one carucate attached to it in the later Extents, was probably the central farm homestead of the demesne. It now survives as a substantial stone-built farmhouse with stone farm buildings forming a square behind it. It stands close by the porth at the extreme western edge of the Manor. The porth is a remarkably good one, affording more shelter and room than any other, and, as the name probably implies a stone-built homestead above the ordinary strength, it will be hardly wrong to consider Trefcastell as the farm homestead of the Maerdref cultivated by the 'villani of Aberffraw' under the management and responsibility of the 'land maer' of the Welsh Codes.1

The Maerdref. worked by the rillani.

As we have seen, the porter was to summon the men of the Maerdref to their work, showing perhaps that they lived in the village close to the palace gates.

But it was the land maer who had to superintend the ploughing and who was generally responsible for land the services of the men of the Maerdref. The following is the general description of their services in the Venedotian Code :-- 2

under the maer.

'The men of the maertrev are to make a kiln and a barn for the King, and to supply them when it may be necessary. They are to pay the tunc (money dues) of their land into the hand of the land maer, and they are to support him twice in the year. They are to thresh, to kiln dry, to reap, and to harrow, and to

named by the Crown on the sale to the City of London in 1628.

¹ Venedotian Code, I. xxxvi. 11. Trefcastell was described in the Record of Carnarvon as in the hands of tenants who paid 60s. of rent, and the same rent was

² Id. II. xx. 9. The word translated 'King' is brenhin, meaning the Prince or head chieftain.

CHAP. I.

mow hay, and provide straw, and fuel for the fire, as often as the King visits the Court, and when the King comes to the Court they are to present the King, according to their ability, either with sheep, or lambs, or kids, or cheese, or butter, or milk.

Services of the men of the Maerdref.

Let us compare this general statement of these services with those described in the Extent. latter inform us how at the date of the conquest the land maer of Prince Llewelyn regulated his Maerdref at Aberffraw in order to supply the wants of his palace and household.

	The services of the men of the Maerdre	f and
	Garthey, as described in the Extent of 1294, n	nay be
	summarised thus:—	
	First, their 'rents of assize' [i.e. tunc] amounted to Second, they had to supply 10½ crannocs of wheat. 8 ,, oatmeal. 4 ,, barley meal.	8s. 8d.
	And these dues were valued at	48s. 7d.
Group of	[These, apparently, were paid from the results of their joint ploughing, which it was the land maer's duty to regulate.] Then there was a group of 9 villani who rendered jointly	
nine villani,	the milk of 3 cows, $4\frac{1}{2}$ sheep, 9 lambs, butter, 150 eggs, 27 hens, valued at	16s. 3d.
and of six,	There was another group of 6 tenements (then empty), but from which had been due jointly 3 sheep, 6 lambs, 9 hens,	
	butter, 100 eggs, valued at	5s. 1d.
and of nine,	There was another group of 9 villani, rendering jointly 27 hens worth	2s. 3d.
	Also 3 days' work at cutting corn, receiving each a loaf a	$2s. \ 3d.$
	day = The villani, as a body, also had to supply fire and straw	40. UU.
	in the Royal Court, worth	30s. 0d.
and of lifteen.	Besides this, a group of 15 villani had to find in the autumn 300 day-works, by which [in addition to 80 day-works found by the villani forenseci of the cantref] the land of the maerdref	
	was tilled	66s. 9d.
	Also 600 day-works of men and horses at harrowing	75s. 0d.
	The villani also had to find 10 crannocs of oats for the	

G n

2

The villani also had to find

6s. 8d.

Making the total value of their payments and services £13 1s. 6d.

This shows clearly that the so-called villein payments and services were regarded, like those of the free tenants, as due from the land or groups of holdings and not as personal charges upon single occupants.

The 'Record of Carnarvon' gives the further in- other formation that the villani of the maerdref

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'do suit at the lord's mill of Bout (i.e. Bont) and Traith. The demesne land lying west and north of the village, the mill of Bont would be their nearest mill. Further, they carry timber and millstones within the Isle of Anglesey at their own charges. And they do joint work on the watercourse of the said mills. And they pay for relief and amobr 2s., if able, but not otherwise. And they pay Kilgh Raglot. And they do the lord's carrying. And they pay a share of staurum, and nothing more.' 1

These actual services of the so-called villani of Aberffraw correspond remarkably closely with the services normally due from the aillts and men of the Prince's maerdref as described in the Venedotian Code above cited.

There is another point mentioned in the 'Record of Carnarvon' requiring attention, viz. the tenure of these tenants of the maerdref.

The Extent of 1294 has already disclosed that Tenure of the villani of the maerdref were arranged in groups. There were two groups each of nine villani making certain contributions. There was another group of fifteen villani who had jointly to find 300 day-works. These groups suggest very strongly arrangements for joint liability.

But an entry in the 'Record of Carnaryon' is more explicit. It runs thus2:-

There is in Aberffraw another hamlet called Mairdref. And it is of such a nature that if there were only one sufficient tenant he would be charged with the whole rent.'

¹ Record of Carnarvon, p. 49.

² Id.

Tenure de natura de trefgevery.

In other parts of the 'Record of Carnarvon,' land under this joint liability is said to be de natura de trefgevery, and this at once connects it with the normal form of villein tenancy (if for the present we may so call it) in the Welsh Codes.

The Venedotian Code¹ states that the 'maer and canghellor are to regulate the King's *aillts* upon their *tyr kyuryw* or *register land*.' And in another passage it states as follows:—

'Geldable land is not to be divided between brothers, but the maer and canghellor are to share it equally between all in the trev, and on that account it is called tir kyuryw. And there is to be no extinguished erw (i.e. escheated to the lord) in the register land; but if there be an erw of that description in it the maer and canghellor are to share it in common among all, to one as well as to another, and no one is to remove from his legal tyddyn (or homestead) if an equivalent can be obtained for it of other land.

'And as we have said above respecting the other, so the maer is to proceed as to the land of the *maertrev*, leaving everyone in his tyddyn according as he best may.' ³

From these passages it appears that the land of the maerdref was of the nature of such regulated land (i.e. in the nature of trefgevery). All the aillts, whether of the maerdref or of separate hamlets, were to be thus regulated, and those of the maerdref of the Prince were to be regulated by his land maer.

Accordingly, the 'Record of Carnarvon' describes not only the *maerdref*, but also the outlying hamlets of *nativi* as of the nature of *trefgevery*.

To these outlying hamlets attention may now be turned.

called tref gyffry.

¹ II. xviii.

² See W.L. IX. xxxii., where a tref of such regulated land is

³ Venedotian Code, II. xii.

CHAP. I

V. THE OUTLYING HAMLETS OF ABERFFRAW.

Passing now from the demesne and western portion of the manor to what are called in the Extents the Hamlets of the manor, they are thus described in the Extent of 1294:—

The Hamlet of *Trefberewet* is described as a group of nine villani rendering:—

Group of nine villani rendering:—

Group of nine villani,

					£	8.	d.
In rents					0	9	8
4 cranno	eks of	barle	ey me	eal	0	5	4
9 sheep					0	4	6
9 lambs					0	1	6
Butter					0	2	3
180 eggs					0	0	7
9 hens	4				0	0	9
Work, 16	1 day	78			1	16	21
					£3	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$

From the 'Record of Carnarvon' we learn that holding this hamlet was of the nature of trefgevery, and there trefgevery is mention also of their services:—

The tenants did suit to the Aberffraw mill, did carrying of timber and millstones to the mill, repaired the ditch, and did joint work at the watercourse [just as the men of the maerdref did at the mill of Bont], and they paid propartem stauri, and they did carriage service for man and horse at 2d. They paid for relief and amobr 5s., and kilgh hebbogothion.

The dues from the Hamlet of Dyncloyden are described in the Extent of 1294 thus:—

¹ Record of Carnarvon, p. 49.

Снар. І.	Rent	of one v	illein.	viz	of L	avid	Hib	ernic	us, w	ho	8.	d.
villeyn hamlets.	pays hal	f of corn sons of G	and n	ilk,	, whic	h is c	ealled	meri	,		2	0
	1116	1 cran. v		-		-	_				8	6
		2 sheep										0
		2 lambs										4
		Butter									0	6
		40 eggs									0	11/2
		6 hens									0	6
		30 days'	work								3	9
	De Pe	ellipariis,	½ cra	ın. l	barley	mea	$1, \frac{1}{2}$ s	heep,	$\frac{1}{2}$ lan	ab,		
		$10 \ cun \alpha$				-						$1\frac{1}{2}$
		7 days' v	work	•		٠					0	$11\frac{1}{4}$
											18	$9\frac{1}{4}$
											-	

The 'Record of Carnarvon' describes this hamlet as de terra nativa domini, and the tenants as doing the same services as those of the hamlet of Trefberewet. The farm still bearing the name of Dynloidan lies near the sea, and has its own 'porth' and 'dinas' as already mentioned.

The dues from the Hamlet of Weuentefrau were:—

Rent of villani			s. d. 3 4
1½ lamb, 30 cunæ of butter,	51 hens,	1 istor	
bladi, 18 days' work			$1 6\frac{1}{2}$
			4 101

They answer as to meryonnyth with the villani of Trefberewet.

This hamlet, under the name of *Kendrefrowe*, is described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as of the

Mr. L. Thomas's Report on Labour in Walcs, b. ii. p. 64. See also use of the word maeronaeth for 'dairy-farming,' in Welsh Laws, W.L. XIII. ii. 75, and of the word maerty in Monmouthshire for dairy-house.

of letting out cattle to tenants for the summer, reserving as rent a share in the milk, is still known in some parts of Wales, under the very similar name of maerwriaeth, or cadw havod. See

nature of trefgevery, like the maerdref and Tref- CHAP. I. berewet, and as doing similar services.

Finally, there is a clause which states that all the villani of the Prince of Aberffraw pay every year for the work of the animals of the house 2s.

All these outlying hamlets appendant to Aberffraw were thus villein hamlets, according to the Extents, regulated by the Prince's officers, and in a special way connected with the Prince's estate or manor, more so apparently than were those of the rest of the cantref.

VI. DUES AND SERVICES FROM THE REST OF THE CANTREF.

The rest of the cantref—i.e. the territory outside Separate the boundaries of the Prince's manor or estate, and rite of scattered over the two cymwds—consisted of what are called in the survey villa, which seem to be groups villani. of homesteads, some of them of free tenants and some of them of villani, and occasionally of both.

The free tenants and villani of these trefs or villa paid as under :-

		£	3.	d.
In rents of assize from free tenants		36	4	8
In rents, corn, oatmeal, butter, eggs, hens, &c.,	9			
and for the 'potura' of 1860 men and 403 horses	3			
and of dogs, from villein tenants, amounting in	1			
value to		23	6	0
The villani of the cantref also furnished special				
dues, and gave a day's ploughing once a year,	,			
valued at		4	6	11
The perquisites of the Court amounted to .		2	0	0
35 1:		00=	4	
Making a total of	. ±	65	17	7

VII. THE RELATIVE BURDEN OF THE DUES AND SERVICES.

Chap. I. Giraldus Cambrensis described Anglesey as containing the best corn-growing land in Wales.¹

The Welsh, he says, ploughed for their oats in March and April, and for wheat in summer and winter, yoking to their ploughs seldom fewer than four oxen. The four oxen were yoked abreast, as in the Isle of Man and in Scotland, and Giraldus mentions that the driver walked backwards in front of the oxen, as was the case also in Scotland.²

Return of number of cattle in fourteenth century. Bearing in mind that Anglesey was an agriculcultural as well as pastoral district, some light may be obtained from a comparison of the number of cattle in the manor and hamlets of Aberffraw, according to an assessment to a 'Fifteenth' made early in the fourteenth century,³ and in the parish of Aberffraw in 1893, according to the Agricultural Returns.

In the fourteenth century there were in all sixtyeight holdings of persons having cattle. Probably there are not as many at the present time.⁴

Only seven of these in the fourteenth century possessed a full yoke of four or more oxen; the rest must, therefore, have joined with others in the ploughing, unless they used horses or cows to make up the plough team.

dix A f.

¹ Descr. Kamb. C. I. vi.

² C. I. viii. and xvii., and see Train's *Isle of Man*, ii. p. 24.

⁵ Treasury of Receipt, Miscell. ^{6,6}, Public Record Office. Now Lay Subsidy ^{2,4}/₅. See Appen-

⁴ In 1890 the number of small agricultural holdings under 50 acres, but excluding allotments, was 48.

The numbers of cattle, horses, and sheep at the CHAP. I. two dates were as follows:-

	1320-40	1893
Oxen	(valued at 5s. per head) 137 ., 3s. 4d. ., 262 ., 2s. 6d. ., 38 2s. ., 91 5s. ., 71 ., 5s. ., 36 ., 6d. ., 6d. ., 735 ., 370	1,711 242 2,913 4,866

As regards the kinds of corn grown, it has already been seen that the payments of the nativi included wheat, oats, and barley.

On the day when the record above mentioned was made the quantities of these three kinds of corn on hand were as follows:-

115 crannocs of wheat valued at 2s. 6d. per crannoc.

28. oats barley 1s. 4d. 9.7

492 crannocs in all.

It is obvious, therefore, that oats were the chief Oats the crop on the Aberffraw manor in the fourteenth cen-chief crop. tury.

The total value of the cattle and corn calculated at the above prices amounted to 188l.

It is most likely that for purposes of taxation the Value of assessment would be made after harvest before the and corn produce was consumed. Perhaps, therefore, it would be fair to take the total as representing the capital of the tenants in cattle and corn after harvest, and probably there would not be much other capital, for

¹ Cattle.

representing the chief part of the tenant's capital.

otherwise the assessors would have taken care to include it in their valuation, the fifteenth of which was to be taken as the tax.

What proportion, then, did the value of the dues and services bear to the amount of their capital in cattle and corn thus ascertained?

Value of the tenants' dues and services. The value of the dues and services of the tenants of the manor of Aberffraw, according to the Extent of 1294, roughly summarised, amounted to the following:—

	0.	co.
2	15	7
1	9	2
6	17	4
9	19	6
£21	1	7
	. 1	. 1 9

About one-ninth of the capital.

The amount of the annual dues and services was, therefore, about one-ninth of the capital of the tenants in cattle and corn.

Only a part of the Prince's income from the manor.

This rough estimate, however, must only be taken for what it is worth. For it must be remembered that no distinction is made between different classes of tenants, and that these dues and services were only a part of the income of the Prince from his so-called manor.

The following is a summary of the value of the manor in the Extent of 1294:—

		£	8.	d.
5 carucates of land in the maerdref	and			
demesne		7	10	0
The three mills produced 60 crannocs		6	0	0
The fisheries		0	15	4
Value of pasture		1	0	0
Perquisites of the Court		2	0	0
	P	17	5	4
Dues and services of tenants	. :	-	-	-
Ditto tille services of tellulitis.				
	4	38	6	11

Adding to this sum the revenue of the Prince from Chap. I. the rest of the cantref in which his royal residence Total was placed—viz. 65l. 17s. 7d., towards which free from the tenants contributed rather more largely than the cantref, nativi, the total revenue of the Prince from the the whole cantref amounted to 104l. 4s. 6d. The amount Anglesey. annually received from the three cantrefs of Anglesey was 483/, 10s, 11d.

VIII. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE ANGLESEY EXTENTS.

The evidence of the extents of Anglesey taken alone may be summarised as follows:-

The Prince of North Wales had rights, which The may be termed Royal rights, of progress, &c., for rights of himself and his retinue, chief falconer, &c., over the progress, cymwds and cantrefs of the whole of Anglesey, except in those cases in which portions may have been handed over by him or his ancestors to religious uses.

The Prince had his own particular so-called manor, His with its palace, courts, and demesne land. His home farm or maerdref, was worked by the so-called villein tenants of Aberffraw living close by his palace.

'manor.'

There were free tenants-some of them free by Free reason of their office, others free tribesmen settled on the estate-from whom he had money rents in lieu of the old food rents and services.

There were also groups of villein tenants on Villein outlying parts of the manor holding in trefgevery like those of the maerdref.

Scattered over the two cymwds of the cantref, were hamlets of free tenants, and other hamlets of villein CHAP. I.

tenants, all contributing rents and services, and the latter supplying provisions and day-works. The villein hamlets were apparently held, as a rule, in trefgevery.

A 'manor' in each cymwd, with its courts. In each of the other cantrefs or cymwds there was also a so-called manor, with its courts, forming a centre for legal proceedings, as well as for the performance of services and payment of dues. And all the *villæ* or hamlets within the cantref were under the jurisdiction of its courts, excepting those under ecclesiastical exemption from secular services. But it does not appear from the Extents that there were usually outlying hamlets specially annexed to these manors, as in the case of the Prince's own manor of Aberffraw.

Each cymwd or cantref was thus an organised geographical and judicial unit, and where the Prince himself did not occupy the palace, or use it as a hunting lodge in his annual progress, it was probably occupied by a subordinate chieftain; but on this point, as all the rights of the chieftains were transferred in lump to the Prince of Wales, the Extents naturally throw little light.

Services not personal, but attached to the holdings. Lastly a remarkable feature, prominent throughout the Extents, is the emphatic way in which the dues and services of both free and villein hamlets were regarded, not as personal services, but as attached to particular holdings or hamlets, so that they remained untouched either by the confiscations on the conquest or by the depopulation of the Black Death, and continued exactly the same for centuries after the conquest, till they came to be regarded as permanent quit rents, some of which are still col-

lected by the collectors of the Crown revenues under Chap. I. the Department of the 'Woods and Forests.'

It may be added that the distinction between the They free and villein hamlets was so deep and so marked unaltered that it was retained long after the conquest, and by the conquest. even long after the services of the bond hamlets had become commuted into fixed money rents. Even now, in the annual returns made to the 'Woods and Forests,' in some cases the rents of two classes of holdings, conjecturally, of the free and bond holdings of a district, are not only returned in separate lists, but even collected by officers with different names, the presumably free rents being collected and accounted for by a 'beadle' and the others by a 'prepositus'; the latter being possibly the successor of the land maer of the Welsh codes, in the Latin version of which the word is translated prepositus.1

¹ I have to thank Mr. Russell Sowray, late of the 'Woods and Forests,' for this information. The

return of 1892, from the Manor or Lordship of Harminiog, in Cardiganshire, is an instance of this.



CHAPTER II.

THE DENBIGH EXTENT OF 8 EDWARD III. THE WELES AND GAVELLS OF TRIBESMEN.

I. THE VALUE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT.

Char. II. Before proceeding to the direct evidence of the Codes and legal treatises—some of them of doubtful dates and authority—it is worth while to examine whether some further facts may not be obtained from the Extents as regards the structure of the tribe itself and the relation of the tribe and its kindreds to the land.

Further evidence required.

The Anglesey Extents have given a pretty clear view of the scattered hamlets, some of them occupied by free tribesmen and others by so-called *villani* or *nativi*. They have naturally disclosed the relations of both classes of tenants to the chieftains, and the geographical arrangement of the hamlets in cymwds and cantrefs, rather than the internal structure of the tribe itself.

They have, indeed, disclosed that the free hamlets were occupied by weles and gavells—whatever these may have been—and that their 'heredes' were so and so, but we have yet to learn what a wele was

and what a gavell was, and in what relation each of CHAP. II. them stood to the tribe or the kindreds of which it was composed.

Can this knowledge be obtained from the Extents? If it could, it might prove an invaluable key to the

true understanding of the Codes.

It is worth while, therefore, to examine whether What the Extents afford actual examples from which may were the be discovered what the weles and gavells of the free garells? tribesmen were.

The earliest Anglesey Extents are deficient in detail, and do not supply the information.

The 'Record of Carnarvon,' as we have seen, is much more ample in its details, but it has the great disadvantage of having been made not only after the conquest of Wales, but also after the 'Black Death.' That great pains were taken to fulfil the terms of the engagement that, with certain exceptions, the services of free tenants and other Welsh customs should remain unaltered by the conquest, has been abundantly shown. But the devastations of the Black Death were limited by no such condition. and may well have played havoc with tribal arrangements.

Moreover, the Anglesey and Carnarvonshire district was, we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, exceptionally agricultural in character, and may, therefore, have advanced, before as well as after the conquest, further than some other districts on the lines of approach to the manorial system.

What is required, therefore, is a survey of a pastoral district, in full detail, and made before the Black Death.

CHAP. II.

The Denbigh extent gives the required evidence.

The Extent of the Castle and Honour of Denbigh,¹ made in 8 Edward III., seems to be the only one which meets the requirements of the case. It was made before the 'Black Death.' It relates to a mainly pastoral district which continued to a large extent under the rules of ancient custom. It gives the name of every tenant, and has, moreover, distinct reference to the condition of things both before and after the final conquest of North Wales.

It is hardly possible to over-estimate the value of this Extent for the purpose in hand.

The annexed map will show at a glance the geographical conditions of the district.

Broadly speaking, it is bounded by the mountains surrounding the valley of the *Clwyd*, with its tributaries the *Istrad* and the *Aled*, embracing also the valley of the *Dulas* which enters the sea independently.

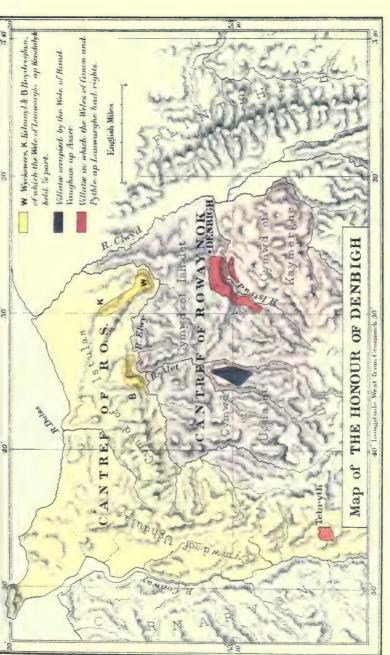
The district included in the extent.

This district, like Anglesey, was divided into cantrefs, and each of its two cantrefs was divided into two cymwds. The cymwds took their names from the rivers. The cantref of Rowaynok contained the cymwds of the farther and hither ² Aled—Ughalet and Ishalet—and the cantref of Ros contained the cymwds of the farther and hither Dulas—Ughdulas and Istulas.

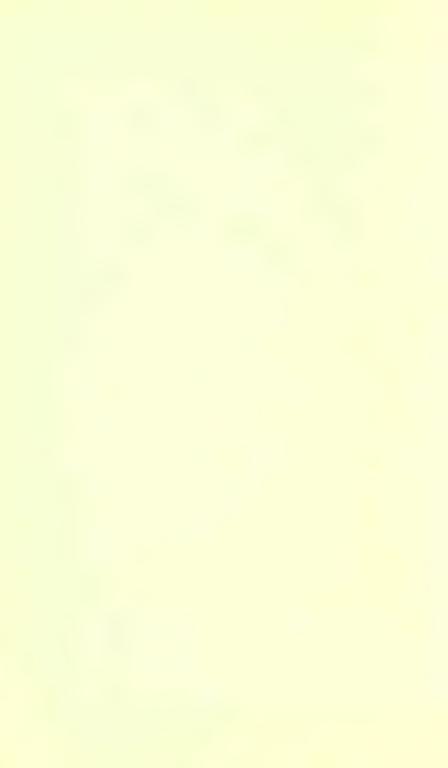
Howard, of Wygfair, is now in my possession, as well as a careful transcription, for which I have to thank the patient labour of Mr. W. K. Boyd. There is an imperfect copy at the Land Revenue Record Office, No. 6 Whitehall.

¹ 'Extenta Castri et Honoris de Dynbeigh facta per Hugonem de Beckele et per recognitionem tenencium singularum villatarum anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum octavo.' Harleian MSS. 3632, B.M. A still older copy, if not the original, formerly belonging to Colonel

² Literally 'above' and 'below.'



Longmans, ween & to London , New York & Bombay



Finally, the single cymwd or half-cantref of CHAP. II. Kaymerghe completed the district.

II. THE WELE OF LAUWARGHE AP KENDALYK.

The Extent describes the tenants of each villata both before the conquest and also after the disturbances which followed it.1

The free tribesmen are called in the survey The meles priodarii, a name which we shall find familiar to the Codes, being a Latinised form of the Welsh priodorion, or proprietors, thus making it clear that in their case the survey is dealing with free tribesmen.

are of free priodarii.

These priodarii are said to hold in weles and gavells.

Turning first to the description of the villata of The Wyckewere, now Wygfair, in the cymwd of Ros-Isdulas, Wygfair wygfair it begins by stating that in the time of the Princes occupied before the Conquest it consisted of eight weles or weles. lecta, viz.:-

villata of by eight

- 1. Wele Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk (freemen).
- 2. Wele Moroyth (3 freemen, 3 nativi).
- 3. Wele Pridith Mogh do.
- 4. Wele Breynt
- all (nativi). 5. Wele Bothleyn
- 6. Wele Moynou

(These six extended over Wyckewere, and its hamlets Boydroghyn and Kilmayl).

- 7. Wele Anergh Cuyr Duyon (all nativi.)
- 8. Wele Thleythen

(These two were in the hamlet of Boydroghyn only.)

The first of these weles is that of Lauwarghe ap That of Kendalyk. A summary of its contents is given on warghe the next page in a tabular form, and the examination of this actual example of a wele cannot fail to be instructive.

them.

¹ The passages from the Extent referred to in this chapter will be found in Appendix B. See Table of Contents of Appendix.

The Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk.

			ு ஐ ப			1	
I'm mee of income of incom	Great Grandsons and others	Gronou ap Madok Vaghan, and Eynon Routh his brother. Heylyn ap Eynon ap Risshard. Heilyn ap Gronou ap Eynon, Bleth and Ithel his brothers. Heilyn ap Eynon Gogh.	Madok ap Heilyn ap Howel. Ithel ap Icrwerth ap Kendalo, Griffith and Tuder his brothers. David ap Kendalo ap Iorwerth. David Vaghan ap David ap Iorwerth, and Tuder his brother.	Ken Vaghan ap Ken ap Madok, Eynon his brother. Iorwerth ap Madok ap Iorwerth, and Ievan his brother. David Loyd ap Kendalo, and Iorwerth his brother. Madok ap Ken ap Eynon, David and Ievan his brothers. Madok ap Eynon, Ada and David his brothers. Heylyn ap Eynon ap Risshard (as above in 1st gavel) and his 'nepotes.'	Kendalo ap Madok. Eynon ap Gronou ap Griffith, Lauwarghe his brother. Iorwerth ap Lauwarghe ap Griffith. Madok ap Heylyn ap Griffith.	Gronou ap Eynon ap Madok. Eynon ap Iorwerth and Ievan his brother. Heylyn ap Eynon ap Howel.	Ithel ap Eynon ap Kendalo and Phelip his brother. Escheat.
דוור וווווור הל הל	Grandsons	1. Gavell Madok ap Risshard	2. Gavell Kendalo ap Risshard	8. Gavell Keñ ap <i>Risshard</i>	Gavell Moridyk ap Lauwargны	1. Gavell Iorwerth ap Kendalo	2. Gavell David ap Kendalo (called Gavel Kyloen)
	Sons	Wele Lau. 1. Wele Risshard warghe ap Lauwarghe Kendalyk			2. Wele Moridyk ap Lauwarghe	3. Wele Kendalo ap Lauwarghe	
,	Father	I. Wele Lau- warghe ap Kendalyk					

Instead of the description of a holding of land CHAP. II. with its boundaries we have here what is practically The wele a pedigree, embracing the sons and grandsons and a family great-grandsons of Lauwarghe ap Kendalvk. numerous successors of each of the grandsons were grandapparently not all of them great-grandsons at the date of the survey. There had been apparently some admission of outsiders among them, but the extent speaks of a time when such groups embraced true heirs only. (See App. p. 57.)

The including

It will be seen that the whole kindred of the descendants of Lauwarghe to the fourth degree was, or had been, included in the wele bearing his name; the word wele, or quely, as already hinted, meaning bed, and being accordingly translated by the Latin word lectum.

Lauwarghe himself was probably not alive, and with subtherefore, presumably, the shares of the sons in the divisions into weles kindred were again called weles, and so also of the and grandsons if by the death of their fathers they had become heads of households. But in cases where the parent was alive the sub-shares of children, according to the custom of gavelkind, were apparently not called weles, but gavells. At least, this is what the use of the terms seems to suggest as their meaning.

navells.

Thus, when we read that the villata of so-and-so consists of so many weles, the meaning seems to be, not that the land of the villata is divided into so many sections or estates, but that it is occupied by so many kindreds, or family groups. And when we read that the wele of so-and-so consists, or consisted when it was held integre, of so many gavells. CHAP. II. we are to understand that it embraced so many subordinate families or sub-households of descendants.

The wele a division of the tribe, not of the land,

The wele, therefore, of the original ancestor is a division not of the land, but of the tribe, and it remains outwardly one unit, with internal subdivisions among sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons; and thus also the subdivisions of the wele are subdivisions of the family group and not of the land.

This being so, the next point arises, what may be the relation of the complex unit to the land? Where and how are the numerous progeny of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk located on land, and how are their possessions or rights described in the Extent?

The answer is that the weles of the progenies of the three sons of Lauwarghe are described as located in the Villata de Wyckewere with its two hamlets of Boydroghyn and Kilmayl. The wele of Lauwarghe originally, and when it was entire, occupied only one-sixth share of the whole villata, and so it did still, as described in the Extent, though now subdivided into the weles and gavells of his descendants.

holding an undivided share in the occupation of a district. This original wele of the common ancestor of the great-grandchildren thus held, apparently, an undivided share in the occupation of the district, or villata. And so it did still, though now subdivided into the weles of the sons and the gavells of the grandsons, and each of the latter at the time of the Extent embraced a numerous community originally of great-grandsons only, but since the conquest not strictly confined to them.

Thus classified still under the original wele of CHAP. II. Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, a community of a score or two of kinsmen held together as one family group an undivided one-sixth part, or share, in the occupation of the villata of Wyckewere and its hamlets.

This joint occupation by so numerous a body of kinsmen would have been complicated enough had the kindred of Lauwarghe been the only occupants of the villata. But it was still more complicated by the fact that the other five-sixths were shared in the same way in undivided shares, some by nativi. and others by more or less related kindreds, whose ties of blood with the kindred of Lauwarghe and with each other are not disclosed.

It is, perhaps, needful to assume that the actual Thehomehomesteads, and inclosures round them, may have steads and crofts probeen held more or less in severalty, but it seems to be clear that, with this exception, the weles or family ralty. groups occupied undivided shares in what may be called the common rights of the villata.

bably held in seve-

This is confirmed by the description of the es- The cheats to the lord, after the conquest, which are were of carefully recorded. These escheats were not of particular fields or portions of land, but fractions of not of such and such a wele, and such and such a gavell. Thus, a fourth part of the gavell of one of the grandsons of Lauwarghe was escheat, and five-sixths of another, and so on, according as fewer or more of the kindred had died contra pacem, or had otherwise forfeited their rights.

of rights,

The total of escheats to the lord within the villata was therefore an aggregate, not of definite actual areas or acres lying here and there, but of CHAP. II. a series of undivided fractions, which, when put together, amounted to a considerable undivided share in the right of occupation in the whole villata; and so the only way in which an estimate of the lord's share in the villata could be arrived at by the surveyors was by working out the calculation as one of proportion, and then translating the result into acres, thus:—

	Acres
The Villata of Wyckewere contains in lands, woods,	
and wastes	1,072
The Hamlet of Kilmayl	160
The Hamlet of Boydroghyn of land, wood, and	
waste	1,340
Sum total	2,573
	A-1
And therefore the share of escheats of the lord by	
true proportion will be	1,638
Of which are allocated to diverse priodarii of	
Lewenny and Astred Canon in exchange for their	
patrimonies in the said villæ, certain proportions of	
divers tenants in Wyckewere, who have died 'contra	
pacem,' whose proportions ought to contain 176 acres	
of land, wood, and waste	176
And so there are over of the shares of the lord .	1,462

The lord seems ultimately at a recent date to have taken not quite one-third of this estimated acreage into his own hands, in order to let it out in lots of a few acres each to tenants, many of them Englishmen, at money rents on the English system.

and so, therefore, were the weles and garells. But the point of importance is that if the escheats were undivided shares of common rights so must also have been the shares of the weles and gavells, of which the escheats were undivided fractions.

III. THE WELES OF CANON AP LAUWARGHE AND PYTHLE AP LAUWARGHE.

Passing now to another example, we find the CHAP. II. progenies of apparently two other sons of Lauwarghe located in another cymwd. It is possible that they The may be sons of another Lauwarghe, but it is hardly villata of Prees. likely, as no distinguishing name is given in the Extent. They may therefore be offshoots from the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, but of this we cannot be sure.

Their progenies are described in summary on the next page, and also those of the other kindreds sharing with them in the villata of Prees.

Following the progenies of each son separately a glimpse may perhaps be obtained of the way in which the family groups were located on land, and shifted according to tribal needs or arrangements.

The progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe were The prolocated in the valley of the Istrad, not only in the genies of Canon villata of Prees, but also in the two other villatæ of hold frac-Astred Canon and Nanthyn Canon.

rights in several

According to the Extents of these three villatæ villatæ, the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe held one-sixth share in the villata of Prees, to which were appendant grazing rights in a great tract of mountain waste, common to the tenants of the whole lordship. The whole villata of Prees paid 20s. of tunc, and the undivided sixth share of the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe in it contributed 3s. 4d. to the tunc pound,

They were the same family group with similar internal divisions into gavells wherever they had

its Hamlets; paying 20s	
its Hamlets; paying 20s. 0½d. tunc, held in VI. parts, each paying 3s. 4d	
its Hamlets; paying 20s. 0½d. tunc, held in VI. parts, each paying 3s. 4d	
its Hamlets; paying 20s. $0\frac{1}{2}d$. tunc, held in VI. parts, each	
its Hamlets; paying 20s. $0\frac{1}{2}d$. tunc, held in VI. parts, each	
its Hamlets; paying 20s. $0\frac{1}{2}d$. tunc, held in VI. parts, each	1 1 1
its Hamlets; paying $20s. 0\frac{1}{2}d$. tune, held in VI	1 1
its Hamlets; paying $20s. 0\frac{1}{2}d$. tune, held in VI	1
its Hamlets; paying 20s. $0\frac{1}{2}d$. tune, held in	1
its Hamlets; paying $20s. 0\frac{1}{2}d.$ tune, h	1
its Hamlets; paying 20s	* * *
its Hamlets; paying 20s	
its Hamlets; paying 20s	
its Hamlets; pa	,
its Haml	
with its Haml	-
with its]	
with	
	+ 11
ES	7
F PREES	-
OF	
VILLATA O	

in which are Ithel Loyt ap Cadugan and 2 others. Gadugan Bottum ap Ednon and 4 others. Keñ Routh ap Iennaf ap Ririd and 8 others († secheat). Iennaf Loyd ap Gronou ap Cadugan and 9 others († escheat). Madok ap Eignon ap Keñ and 13 others. Madok ap David ap Eignon and 10 others (§ escheat). Escheat (and therefore not mentioned in the other villatæ held by the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe).	Escheat by death 'contra pacem.' 2 holders ($\frac{1}{10}$ escheat). 7 holders ($\frac{1}{10}$) 4 ($\frac{1}{10}$) 2 ($\frac{1}{10}$) 1 holder ($\frac{1}{10}$) 3 holders ($\frac{1}{10}$)	3 holders (\$\frac{3}{4}\$ escheat). 3 holders (held whole). 2 "" Escheat. 2 holders and Magr. Hospitalis St. Johannis del Specii.	13 holders. 11 ,, (\frac{1}{8} \text{ escheat}).	4 holders (1 gavell escheat). 1 holder (2_{15} gavells escheat). 15 holders (1 gavell escheat).	
he Vaghan ap Canon ap Canon ap Canon ap Canon ap Canon ap Canon	th ap Pythle ", and Pythle ", and Pythle ", and ap Pythle ", and and Pythle ", and Bythle ", and Pythle ",	nerth ap <i>Runon</i> ,, ret ap <i>Runon</i> ,, th ap <i>Runon</i> ,, n ap <i>Runon</i> ,, n ap <i>Runon</i> ,,	n ap Tenyth ,, er ap Tenyth ,,	warghe ap Ithel ", on ap Ithel ", ert ap Ithel ",	ds of nativi.
I. Progenies of Canon 1 Gavell Lauwarghe ap Lauwarghe. 1 Gavell Eignon 2 Gavell Meuric Gavell Nynyat Gavell Kenewerth	II. Progenies of $Pythle$ 1 Wele Eduowen II. Progenies of $Pythle$ 1 Wele Eknongh ap Lauwarghe. 1 Wele Eduon 1 Wele Eissard 1 Wele Genythlyn	III. Progenies of Runon 1 Wele Keftnenerth ap Cadugan 1 Wele Iorwerth ap Ostrouth. 1 Wele Gronon 1 Wele Yarthur	IV. Progenies of $Tenyth$ 1 Gavell Heilin ap Kendalo ap Cadugan. 1 Gavell Elyder	V. Progenies of <i>Ithel</i> (2½ Gavells Lauwarghe ap Cadugan ap Ostrouth. 2 Gavells Ednon ap Ostrouth.	VI. Sundry free weles and several in hands of nativi.
I. F	II. P	111. 1	IV. F		VI. S

rights of occupation, and so it was not necessary, CHAP. II. according to the Extent, to inscribe all the names of the grandsons of Canon ap Lauwarghe in the with the survey of *Prees*, because they were already recorded divisions at length under the heading of Astred Canon. Ex- wherever cepting their share of the tunc of Prees they did no other services at Prees. Their services of pastus &c. were recorded under the head of Astred Canon and rendered there only. But, besides their services, they originally paid 10s. of tunc in Astred Canon.

they hold.

They also held as a family group, with the same internal divisions, the villata of Nanthyn Canon with its hamlet of Pennankyng, but in this they owed neither services nor tunc, because it was reckoned as appurtenant to Astred Canon.

also located in Prees, were divided into the eight the proweles of his eight sons, and held as one family group one-sixth share in the occupation of the villata side by side with the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe and other kindreds, paving their due proportion of tunc; but instead of having a second and a third location in Astred and Nanthyn they had a second location in the distant villata of Tebrith and its hamlets in the cymwd of Ros Uchdulas,

The progenies of Pythle ap Lauwarghe, who were so also

But the wele of one son described as escheat in Prees is omitted altogether in Tebrith. The weles of two other sons are omitted for some reason or other undisclosed, and the weles of the five remaining sons are therefore the only ones recorded

south of Llanrwst, in the extent of which villata

their names were recorded over again in detail.

CHAP. II. in *Tebrith*. The entry in Tebrith also contains the statement that 'all the tenants in the said villata and hamlets are free *priodarii* and not *nativi*, and they are called *wyrion Pythle*' (i.e. grandsons of Pythle).

The progenies of Pythle like their kinsmen, the progenies of Canon, paid their contributions of 3s. 4d. to the tunc pound of Prees. At the same time they paid 20s., i.e. the whole tunc pound, at Tebrith, where they had the whole villata to themselves, and also paid services.

The escheats again are of fractions of rights.

Turning, as before, to the escheats, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{18}$ part of the gavell of one of the sons of Canon, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gavell of another son, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gavell of another son were escheat to the lord in the villata of *Prees*. The whole wele of one of the sons of Pythle, who died contra pacem, and $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the weles of the other seven sons of Pythle were escheat, so that in these cases also the escheated shares were fractional proportions of the undivided rights of the family group.

Thus the conclusion is arrived at that the gavells of the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe were undivided shares of rights in the several village communities of Astred Canon, Nanthyn Canon, and Prees, and the weles of the progenies of Pythle ap Lauwarghe undivided shares of rights in the villata of Prees and the distant villata of Tebrith. No doubt, as already stated, the kinsmen of each family group may have had the separate use of homesteads and crofts, but with this exception, if the words wele and gavell may be transferred at all from the family group to the holdings, they were substantially to all appearances bundles of undivided shares or

The weles and gavells bundles of undivided rights.

rights of co-aration and pasture in the several CHAP. II. villatæ

Nor are these solitary instances. Three of the Other other sixths of the villata of Prees are respectively in the hands of the progenies of the three sons (or rather two sons and a grandson) of Cadugan ap Ostrouth.

examples,

The first of the sixths was held in five weles by the five sons of Runon ap Cadugan and besides this sixth of Prees they paid pastus to the Prince in the villata of Garth Kanannel in the cymwd of Ros Uchdulas.

The second of these three was held by the progenies of Tenyth ap Kendalo ap Cadugan, and besides this sixth of Prees they paid tunc and did services for what they held in the villatæ of Carueduenuth. Penporghethl, and Dyncaduell.

The third of the three sixths was held by the progenies of Ithel ap Cadugan, and they also had rights in Carueduenuth and originally in Dyncaduell also

IV. THE WELE OF RAND' VAGHAN AP ASSER.

The foregoing examples have sufficiently illustrated the position of weles of kinsmen located, along with others, in a single villata, or holding fractional rights in several villatæ. It may be well to add yet another example showing how in some cases a kindred could occupy exclusively several whole villatæ as well as fractions of others. The following will answer the purpose. The entry in the survey is as under:-

Example of a wele holding rights of occupa tion of several whole villatæ and fractions of others.

'Be it known that there is a certain progenies of free tenants in this cymwd (of Ughalet), which is called the "progenies of Rand' Vaghan ap Asser," which said progenies hold in diverse

CHAP. II. villæ of the cymwd, and held in the time of the Princes before the conquest, viz.:—

The whole villata of Dennant.
The whole villata of Grugor.
The whole villata of Guylberyñ.
The whole villata of Penglogor.
The whole villata of Pennaualet.
Half of the villata of Hendreuenuyth.
One third of the villata of Prestelegot.
One thirteenth part of the villata of Petrual.

And all these said villatæ and parts of villatæ they held in 4 lecta, viz.:—

Wele Ruathlon ap Rand'.
Wele Idenerth ap Rand'.
Wele Daniel ap Rand'.
Wele Kewret ap Rand'.

And there will follow concerning the proportion of tenure and services of every wele and of every one of its gavells in each of the several villatæ seriatim by itself.'

The wele or progenies of Rand' ap Asser was thus subdivided into weles of sons, and each of these again were divided into gavells of grandsons according to the annexed statement. The family group in the eye of the surveyors had become divided into groups of grandsons, and they are described as the priodarii holding the original lectum called wele wyrion Rand'—i.e. the wele of the grandsons of Rand', and wherever they hold, whether whole villatæ or fractions of villatæ, the original lectum or family group is subdivided precisely in the same manner into the same weles and gavells of the sons and grandsons of Rand'. But, again, the subdivisions of the kindred did not imply any actual divisions in the land.

The *priodarii* of this wele did all their services in the villata of *Dennant*, and paid their proper proportions of tune in every villata in which they had CHAP. II. rights.

	Wele Ruathlon Gavell Guyon ap Ruathlon Gavell Bleth ap Ruathlon	5 holders.
	ap Rand' Gavell Kewret ap Ruathlon Gavell Madok ap Ruathlon	1 holder. 5 holders.
W-1- D	Gavell Iorwerth ap Ienerth' Gavell Madok ap Idenerth'	3 holders. 4 holders ½ esch.
Vaghan ap Asser	ap Rand' Gavell Allot' ap Idenerth' Gavell Tegwaret ap Idenerth'	
	Wele Daniel ap Rand' Gavell Eignon ap Dariel (sic) Gavell Cadugan ap Danyel (sic)	12 holders ⁷ / ₆₄ esch. 8 ,, ⁵ / ₈ ,,
:	Wele Kewret ap Rand' Gavell Grifro ap Kewret Gavell Kenewrek ap Kewret	

V. THE SHIFTING IN THE LOCATION OF THE KINDREDS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

Lastly, some additional light as to tribal methods of distribution may perhaps be got from what happened after the conquest.

There had been escheats, e.g. in Wyckwere, owing Vacancies to the death of tenants contra pacem. These in one escheats threw into the lord's hands the vacant proportions. Henry de Lacy's policy was to extend into the neighbourhood of the Castle of Denbigh the from other English three-field system of husbandry. Already in neighbouring parishes (Llanriadr and others) the three-field system was at work with its plough-teams

by escheat villata filled up by exchange villatæ.

CHAP. II. and bovates on the English fashion. To accomplish his object and make for himself an English manor, he excluded the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe from Astred Canon and gave them exactly corresponding rights in Wyckwere by way of exchange. And he acted in the same way in the villata of Llewenny.

When it is considered how complex were the rights of the tribesmen *inter se* in these cases, and yet how easily the exchanges were made, it becomes clear that the complexity lay in the structure of the kindreds and not in the facts of the husbandry.

These exchanges easily made,

The cattle and the ploughs of a kindred could be moved with ease from one part of the country to another, and some of them placed in one villata and some in another, even in different cymwds and cantrefs, without interfering with the intricate family rights of the members of the kindred *inter se*, which easily followed the cattle and the ploughs wherever for the time they might be.

and so might have been under the tribal system. And thus these shiftings and redistributions of the kindreds on the land after the conquest may illustrate the ease with which the chiefs of kindred could move the kindreds and families about under the tribal system whenever changes in population might require it. But they do more than this. They give point and clearness to the conception of the landholding kindreds, each holding together as one family unit with its own tribal rights as against

plough team. And *Llech* by 4 groups, each with 8 bovates or full plough teams. *Llandulas* was held by 3 groups, each with 12 bovates.

Record of Carnarvon, p. 112 and pp. 109-110. The Villa of Llanreadur was held by 4 groups of tenants, which each held 4 bovates, i.e. half the full

other kindreds in this villata or that, and sometimes CHAP. II. even in different cymwds. They oblige us to picture them as communities of graziers of cattle with rights The kinof grazing by tribal right or tribal arrangement in different parts of the district, each community, with, groups of it may be, its score or two of kinsmen, forming a complex unit, one in its relations to the other kindreds, but nevertheless with intricate internal hereditary and family divisions and rights known intimately, doubtless, to the elders of the kindred. but far too intricate to be of interest to the makers of the Extent.

dreds family graziers.

One point of importance may, however, be gathered from the Extent as regards the family rights of these groups of kinsmen.

It will have been noticed that in all the cases The group cited the kindred seems to have stopped with the great-grandsons of the common ancestor, of whose wele they held their undivided shares or gavells.

went no than greatgrandsons.

The following passage from the Extent seems to explain this:-

A son of a free priodaur after the death of his father shall give to the lord for his relief, before he possesses his inheritance.

A brother or nephew or cousin within the 3rd grade, and in the 3rd grade, shall give for his relief, after the death of his antecedent, before he obtains his inheritance, 20s.

Beyond the 3rd grade there is no right of inheritance amongst them, but the land shall be escheat to the lord for default of heirs.1

The importance of this rule in the tribal system will become apparent when the evidence of the Codes is examined.

And turning from the groups of kinsmen to the

¹ See Appendix B. h and i.

The villatæ were units of occupation.

CHAP. II. geographical areas or land-units, called in the surveys villatæ, in which they had rights-sometimes sole and exclusive, but more often concurrent with other similar groups in fractional shares—we are forced to consider the villata rather as a unit of husbandry and of the grazing of so many cattle than as a 'village community' of the English type.

> The numerous progenies of Canon or Pythle ap Lauwarghe obviously cannot all live in every villata in which they have rights and in which their cattle are placed to graze. Where, then, are the homesteads? In which of the villatæ?

> It is when we are forced by the surveys to ask such questions as these that we fully appreciate the value of the description of Welsh habits in the twelfth century by Giraldus Cambrensis.

The homesteads easily built and removed.

His statement becomes very significant that the houses of the Welsh tribesmen were not built either in towns or even in villages, but scattered along the edges of the woods. Quite as important is the remark that to his eye they seemed mere huts made of boughs of trees twisted together, easily constructed, and lasting scarcely more than a season. They consisted, he says, of one room, and the whole family. guests and all, slept on rushes laid along the wall with their feet to the fire, the smoke of which found its way through a hole in the roof.1

Summer and winter homesteads.

The Welsh tribesmen, in fact, like other pastoral people, had two sets of homesteads. In summer

duplicate cabins in the summer village on the higher slope of the mountain, the whole of this village being unoccupied in winter.

¹ Descr. Wall. I. ch. x. and ch. xvii. The peasants of the villages on the south coast of the Isle of Achill, even to the present day, have

dreds and

able ele-

villatæ

units.

tribal life.

their herds fed on the higher ranges of the hills and CHAP. II. in winter in the valleys. So they themselves, following their cattle, had separate huts for summer and winter use, very much as was also the custom in the Highlands of Scotland and is still the case in the higher Alpine valleys.

Dispelling, therefore, from the word villata all The kinideas which hover around its use as the equivalent of theirherd the 'village community,' the picture given by the the mov-Extent, taken together with the information of ment in Giraldus Cambrensis, of the scattered pastoral life The of the groups of kinsmen becomes much more intel-the fixed ligible. The geographical units called villatæ are evidently the fixed and permanent units. groups of kinsmen and their herds of cattle are the movable elements in pastoral life under tribal arrangements; and the complexity of rights within the kindred, whilst subject probably to inflexible tribal rules fixed by immemorial custom, follow the kindreds wherever they go and however much they may be scattered.

The meaning and significance of these tribal arrangements can only be fully appreciated when the descriptions given of the structure of tribal society in the Codes and other legal traditions have been studied. But, on the other hand, it will be readily admitted that we should have approached their study at great disadvantage had the previous examination of the actual examples of weles and gavells, furnished by the Denbigh Extent, been omitted

VI. THE GWELY IN SOUTH WALES. EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF ST. DAVID'S. A.D. 1326.

CHAP. II.

Now that it is known what the *weles* of the tribesmen were, the question arises over how wide an area mention of them is found in the Extents.

Weles prevalent throughout North Wales. They were not confined to Denbighshire. The Extents contained in 'The Record of Carnarvon' testify to their prevalence throughout Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Merionethshire. The addition of Denbigh nearly completes the number of modern counties included in the district conquered by Edward I., and dealt with by the Statute of Rothelan. This district is that to which the Venedotian Code mainly applied. There is corresponding evidence for South Wales though not of so full and complete a character.

Extent of the lands of St. David's. The lands of the Bishop of St. David's were scattered over three or four counties, and an Extent was made of them in the year 1326, which though not nearly so rich in details as that of Denbigh, gives, nevertheless, valuable evidence.

The Extent shows that English influences had long been at work in South Wales and especially in Pembrokeshire. The prevalence of carucates and bovates in the scattered agricultural hamlets of Pembrokeshire and other counties indicates that in many districts the tribal system had given way to settled agriculture and English methods. But in

Martyn, Dei gracia episcopi loci. Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} vicesimo sexto.' See Appendix C. [Since printed in the Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 5, edited by J. W. Willis-Bund.]

¹ British Museum Additional MSS. No. 34135:—'Extenta omnium terrarum et reddituum domini episcopi Menevensis facta per magistrum David Fraunceys Cancellarium Menevensem tempore venerabilis patris domini David

the districts through which the Rivers Towy and Teifi CHAP. II. flow in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, the Extent discloses interesting survivals of tribal holdings of the same type as those of Denbighshire, though not described with the same completeness of detail.

Thus at Keuendeneuyth, in Carmarthenshire 1:-

Gweles of the stirps of so-andso, in Carmarthen-

'They (the jurors) say that there are there four lecti, commonly called qwele, and of the first gwele is the stirps (stipes) of Gruff. ap Gilbert, and of the second gwele is the stirps of shire. Isac ap Ithua, and of the third qwele is the stirps of Gronou ap Graylwyn, and of the fourth gwele is the stirps of Cadogan ap Donandwr, and each gwele renders to the lord 2s. by the year at Michaelmas.'

At Henllan,2 in Cardiganshire, there was one Lecti in lectus of which three persons named and their co-shire. portioners were tenants. And at Bangor 3 there were four lecti, three of them being called Gwely Oyrion so and so, i.e. of the grandsons of the original holder.

three pertheir deholding by ancient

kin and

In the villa of Landewybreuy, the lord had a Greelys of house, and in what is called the 'Patria de sons and Landewybreuy,' there were, according to the jurors, scendants eight lecti qui vocantur Gwely, and of each of these eight lecti it is stated that there are such and such tenure of persons (in all cases but one, three are named), and descent. descendants from them (descendentes ab eisdem). And it is added 'all the aforesaid hold per antiquam tenuram, viz. per ach et Edrid'; i.e. 'by kin and descent,' the Welsh words used for this phrase in the Dimetian Code being 'o ach ac etryt.' 5

In Garthely 6 there was only one lectus vocatus

¹ Fol. 41 (p. 237).

² Fol. 36p (p. 215).

³ Fol. 37 (p. 215).

⁴ Llandewybrevi. Fol. 33, 34

⁽p. 201).

⁵ D.C. I. xxx. Leges Wallice,

^{&#}x27;per hach et edryt,' II. viii. 49.

⁶ Fol. 35 (p. 205).

CHAP. II. Gwely, and this again was of three persons named et descendentes ab eisdem.

In Llannon, there was only one lectus, and this also was of three persons cum sequela et descendentibus ab eisdem.

Greles in Breconshire,

In *Glascom* in the Archdeaconry of Brecon there were three *lecti qui vulgo vocantur Gwele*. And each was that of a *stirps* and descendants from it.²

and in Gower.

The Bishop of St. David's also had land at Landewy and Langevelach, in Gower, in Glamorganshire. In the latter place there were recorded under the head 'Liberi' seven lecti qui vulgo vocantur Gwele.³

This evidence of the Extent of St. David's, therefore, extends the mention of these holdings to four counties of South Wales, and there is no reason to suppose that the same system was not once prevalent in other districts of which there do not happen to be surveys.

[Note.—When the above was written I had not had the advantage of Mr. Willis-Bund's 'Introduction' to his valuable edition of this (so-called) Black Book of Saint David's.]

¹ Fol. 36 (p. 211).

Cambrian Archæological Association, The Lordship of Gower,

² Fol. 52 (p. 291).

part ii. p. 192.

³ Fol. 51 (p. 287). And see part ii. p



CHAPTER III.

THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY.

I. NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE CODES AND TRADITIONS

Passing now from the firm ground of the surveys to Chap. III. the more debatable ground of the Codes and the legal traditions classed together in the second division of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' it is necessary at once to disclaim any attempt to settle or even adequately to criticise the dates or authority of the several MSS, or of the traditions out of which they may have sprung.

The surveys have made it clear that upon the The facts conquest of North Wales there was existent, and of the surveys inextricably interwoven into Welsh polity, a mass of the result of tribal tribal custom which even Norman phraseology and custom. classification could neither force into ordinary manorial grooves nor ignore. And it would be idle to dream that a body of custom of this kind could have been of recent or rapid growth. Rather must it be regarded as an axiom in economic history that a condition of rural polity such as the surveys disclose could not be other than the result of traditional

CHAP.III. and immemorial usage. And when it is considered how tenacious and stubborn was the Welsh adherence to custom, that even long generations of Christian or ecclesiastical influence had failed to Christianise the tribal law of marriage; that (according to the Venedotian Code) 'the law of the Emperor and the law of the Church' combined could not force Howell the Good to alter tribal custom so far as to disinherit illegitimate sons; and that even Edward I. on the final conquest could not force upon the Welsh tribesmen the law of primogeniture—when this continuity of stubborn tribal habit is considered, it becomes clear that it must have been ingrained in the very structure of tribal society.

Welsh tribal custom survived into the era of codes and surveys.

Instead, then, of entering into critical examination of the dates of MSS. and the authority of the so-called 'Triads' and other legal traditions-which must be left to the labours of the Celtic scholar-and instead of being tempted to exaggerate the antiquity of the evidence, the wiser course in this practical inquiry will be fully to realise that the value of the evidence of Welsh tribal life does not lie in its antiquity. It rather lies in its being the latest and most modern instance in Western Europe of a tribal system which, having held its own till the era of codes and surveys, is unique in the fact that it can be examined in a way no other tribal system of Western Europe can be, excepting, perhaps, that of Ireland.

There is, however, one direct link between the surveys and the Codes which is worth mentioning.

In the Statute of Rothelan (A.D. 1284—i.e. fifty years before the date of the Denbigh Extent of A.D. 1335) it is stated that upon the final conquest Chap. III. of North Wales, Edward I., 'wishing that his newly acquired Welsh lands should be governed under The Veneproper laws, to the honour of God, and that those dotian Code read just received under his rule should be dealt with over to the by fixed laws and customs under his peace . . . nobles at caused the laws and customs of those parts hitherto before the used, to be recited before him and the nobles of his surveys were realm, the which having been diligently heard and made. fully understood, certain of them by counsel of the said nobles were annulled, certain were permitted. and certain were corrected, and also certain others were ordained to be added and enacted.'

King and Rhuddlan,

Now, there is, in the British Museum, a MS. of the Venedotian Code, not by any means the earliest MS. of it still extant, which at the end has a note mentioning Anianus, the Bishop of St. Asaph, who was probably one of the nobles before whom the Welsh laws and customs were recited. And it may well be one of the copies of the Code used before the King and his nobles at Rhuddlan.

> and surveys give mutual support to each other.

The wiser course, therefore, will be to rely The Codes chiefly on the mutual support given to each other by the Codes and the surveys. The facts of the surveys are sure. If the Codes contain a body of customary law which in natural course would produce the condition of things described by the surveys, their authenticity will be substantially confirmed. And, again, if the legal traditions of more doubtful date and origin supply reasons, in tribal sentiment or in more or less archaic details of custom, for the legal

Chap. III. rules of the Codes, they themselves become evidence which cannot be wholly ignored.

It cannot be doubted that they throw valuable light of this kind, and all we can do is to use discrimination and not to rely too exclusively upon them in cases where they stand alone or seem to contravene better evidence with a suspiciously unhistoric motive.

The reader will readily discriminate between the different sources of evidence quoted from the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' references to the Codes being so stated, whilst those to the other miscellaneous documents and the Latin versions of the Codes are cited under the heading 'Welsh Laws.'

II. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TRIBESMEN AND NON-TRIBESMEN PRIMARILY ONE OF BLOOD.

Tribesmen and non-tribesmen.

At first sight there is great confusion in the classes of men mentioned in the Codes and Welsh laws—of tribesmen, uchelwrs, breyrs, and innate boneddigs; of non-tribesmen, taeogs, aillts, alltuds, &c. The confusion vanishes only when the principle is grasped underlying the constitution of tribal society. And this principle would apparently be a very simple one if it could be freed from the complications of conquest and permanent settlement on land and from the consequent inroads of foreign law, custom, and nomenclature.

To begin with, there can be little doubt that the ruling principle underlying the structure of tribal society was that of blood relationship among the free

tribesmen. No one who did not belong to a kindred CHAP. III. could be a member of the tribe, which was, in fact, a bundle of Welsh kindreds. Broadly, then, under The disthe Welsh tribal system there were two great classes, one of those of Cymric blood and those who were strangers blood. in blood. There was a deep, if not impassable, gulf between these two classes quite apart from any question of land or of conquest. It was a division in blood. And it soon becomes apparent that the tenacity with which the distinction was maintained was at once one of the strong distinctive marks of the tribal system and one of the main secrets of its There were, indeed, if we may believe strength. later tradition, in South Wales at least, bridges across the gulf, but they were such as to emphasise the hard fact of its existence and to prove not only its breadth but its permanence.

Two of these bridges may be alluded to at once InS. Wales by way of illustration:

(1) Residence in Cymru, according to the traditions of S. Wales, made the descendant of a stranger generaat last a Cymro, but not until continued to the ninth generation.1

(2) Intermarriage with innate Cymraeses genera- orbyintertion after generation made the descendant of a marriage at fourth. stranger an innate Cymro in the fourth generation. In other words, the original stranger's great-grandson, whose blood was at last seven-eighths Cymric, was allowed to attain the right to claim the privileges of a tribesman.2

Such being the width of the gulf which divided

strangers become

CHAP. III. the stranger in blood from the free-born Cymro, the next point to be noticed at the outset is the nature of the disabilities which resulted from the want of tribal blood

Disabilities of strangers in blood. It is remarkable that these disabilities were apparently not so much the subjection to severer services and dues, as the natural results of the want of the blood-ties which bound tribesmen together into so tightly moulded a community.

The evidence of a stranger in blood was of no worth against a Cymro.¹

Whilst every tribesman, head of a household, must have his 'sword and spear and bow, with twelve arrows in the quiver' always ready at a moment's notice, weapons were not allowed to any stranger or aillt until the third descent.² And neither horsemanship nor hunting were free to any but an innate Cymro.³

Without his lord's consent the *taeog* was to be neither a scholar, a smith, nor a bard.⁴ But if the lord were passive till he were tonsured as a scholar, or till he had set up a smithy of his own, or till he had graduated in song as a bard, he was free.⁵

The reason for them.

The traditional reason for these disabilities, given in the *Triads*, was to keep the stranger class unorganised and weak; 'to guard against treachery and ambush'; 'to prevent the plotting of strangers and their adherents, lest *alltuds* (*i.e.* strangers) obtain the lands of the innate Cymry.' ⁶

¹ V.C. II. xi. 24.

² W.L. XIII, ii. 222.

³ Id. 79.

⁴ V.C. I. xliii, 11.

⁵ D.C. II. viii. 7.

⁶ W.L. XIII. ii. 67.

These explanations are naturally not given in the CHAP. III. Codes, but on such a point even a later tradition is not without value.

Lastly, there were special and exceptional cases in which kinship was allowed to the stranger in blood—exceptions which prove the rule, because they rested upon the hypothesis that an artificial tie of blood had been formed which might fairly be considered as strong as the natural tie.

The following typical examples are taken from a Examples MS. of additional laws of about A.D. 1400.1 Whether ficial kinancient tradition or indicating later relaxation of the strictness of tribal rules, they are equally instructive :--

If a person be killed and his kindred shall not obtain right. and his kinsmen proceed to avenge their kin, and they deem their number small, and if a stranger come and proceed along with them upon the privilege of kin (ar vreint car), saying 'I will go along with you to avenge your kin (car), and will take upon myself the slaughter and blood of him whom ye also shall take upon yourselves,' and they kill one or more, on account of their kin (kar), such stranger obtains the privilege of kin (ar vreint kar).

If his travelling companion sees his enemies and says to him 'See'st thou? See'st thou yonder men who will have me? and since there is no kin (kar) with me they will have me cheap!' says his stranger companion, 'I will fight along with thee, and I will take upon myself the blood of such as thou shalt take upon thyself,' and he escape because of that, that stranger acquires the privilege of a kin (kar) to him.

If a person be condemned to lawful wager of battle, either for land and soil, or for any crime, and he should dread in his heart entering into personal combat, and a stranger should arise and say to him. 'I will go in thy stead to combat,' and he should escape thereby, such stranger acquires the privilege of a brother to him, or nephew, the son of a sister (nei vab chwaer) to receive galanas, or to pay it for him.

CHAP. III.

The kinshattered person. Now, in all these cases the word for kin is *car* or *kar*, and so, in the reverse case of a tribesman losing or forfeiting the privilege of kin, he became a *car-shattered* or *kin-wrecked* person—a person who had broken his kin and put himself for a time or in part into the position of a stranger in blood.¹

It would seem as though the tie of kin was a tie of nature, too strong to be broken for ever, except in extreme cases. In one sense, 'once a kinsman, always a kinsman.'

The following is from the Gwentian Code:-

Three persons hated by a kindred; a thief, and a deceiver, and a person who shall kill another of his own kindred; since the living kin (car) is not killed for the sake of the dead kin (car) everybody will hate to see him.²

Such a criminal as the last-mentioned, whose crime, being within his own kindred, was outside the law of galanas or 'blood-fine,' could not be slain. He might, however, with the consent of his kindred, relinquish the privilege of kinship. In such a case,

¹ The car-shattered person has been hitherto considered as a waggon-shattered person; but as to the word car compare kerennyd = relationship (Venedotian Code, III. i. 11 and III. i. 16), kar and car = relative (Gwentian Code, III. xxxvii. 2, and xxxix. 11 and 14), karant = relations (id.). And (W.L. XIV. xvii.) under the head Am Geraint = of relations, are the three following paragraphs, which clearly prove that the car of the car-shattered person was his kinship, and not his waggon:—

'There are three kinds of relatives (car) on the side of the father, among whom land is shared: a brother, a cousin, and a second cousin.

'Three relations (tri char) on the side of the mother who share land with their relatives (ac eu car): an uncle, the mother's brother, a mother's cousin, and a cousin to himself, where a person shall obtain land by maternity.

'There are three car-shattered persons (tri char llywedroc): son of an alltud by a Cymraes; a taeog accepted into the service of a person; and a wealthy person by inheritance on the land of another.'

² II. xxxix, 54.

he became a kin-wrecked man, but the rights of the CHAP. III. descendants of such a person, including their rights of inheritance in the tribe, were protected for nine generations-' till the ninth man.'

Thus, according to the Venedotian Code:-

If the ninth man come to claim land his title is extinguished. and that person is to raise an outery that from being a proprietor (priodawr) he is becoming a non-proprietor, and then the law listens to that outcry, and assigns to him a shelter for a free tribesman's kyfran or portion], and that outcry is called 'an outcry over the abyss.' 1

What is this terrible 'cry over the abyss' but the last despairing cry of a kinsman on the point of losing for ever, for himself and his descendants, his rights of kinship?

By one thing alone could the tie of kinship be absolutely broken—viz. by a man's life being forfeit for crime, such as murder of his chief of kindred. For such a criminal the gulf was opened and could only be bridged by his descendants, as in the case of strangers in blood, in the ninth generation, or by repeated intermarriage with innate Cymraeses in the fourth generation.² And this only in South Wales!

How the tie of kinship broken.

A traitor to his kindred was banished from Cymru, and 'it was required of every one of every sex and age within hearing of the horn to follow that exile, and to keep up the barking of dogs, to the time of his putting to sea, until he shall have passed three-score hours out of sight.' 3

Thus, though the makers of the mediæval surveys naturally described the two classes of tribesmen and

¹ II. xiv. 2, and see W.L. ix. 3 W.L. XIII. i. 26, and cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland, iii. ² W.L. XIII. ii. 67. c. vii.

CHAP. III.

non-tribesmen as 'free' and 'bond,' or as liberi and villani or nativi, according to English manorial usage, the real dividing line between them under the tribal system turns out to be one of blood. It is true that the Welsh versions of the Codes themselves occasionally use the loan-word 'villein' in a vague sense for the stranger classes, but they never seem to forget that the real missing link between them and tribesmen is the tribal one of blood.

Grades of blood relationship belong to early stages of the tribal system. The connection of both classes with land introduces, no doubt, at first sight, a complicating element into tribal society; but one strong indication that the tie of blood relationship had always lain at the root of tribal society from its early stages before it became finally settled upon land is the fact that when anything like proprietorship of land came into the tribal life it was forced, like everything else, into a tribal mould.

Whatever, for example, may have been the relation of the kindreds to land in the Denbigh Extent, the weles and gavells were moulded by blood-relationship. And we have seen that they were limited by the rules of tribal inheritance within the range of the fourth degree of descent.

The meaning of these rules and grades of kinship in the structure of the tribal community will next be examined, and then the light so gained may be thrown upon the further consideration of the position of the stranger classes. III. THE KINDRED, AND ITS ORGANISATION.

The innate boneddig 1 was the fully freeborn Cymro, Chap. III. of pure Welsh blood, both on his father's and his mother's side, without mixture of kin.2

He belonged to a kindred (cenedl). And the The tribe Cymric tribe or nation was a bundle of such kin- of kindreds bound together by blood relationship, by common interests, and by the necessity of mutual protection against foreign foes.

dreds.

The whole tribe or federate country (qwlad) under the head king (brenhin penraith) was regarded as the supreme kindred (cenedl benbaladr).3

This acknowledgment of a common country and supreme kindred, whether a late or early conception, had this result: that a Cymro was a Cymro wherever he went within its bounds, whilst preserving his particular privilege in respect to land only in the territory of the chief of kindred under whom he was born. Even the kin-shattered man, therefore, had not necessarily ceased to be a free tribesman, and was not without a country.4

Confining attention at present to the lesser kin- The kindreds, the kindred proper, which was an organised unit, having its own 'chief of kindred' (pencenedl) degree of and other officers, was the kindred embracing the descendants of a common ancestor to the ninth degree of descent-i.e. the same number of generations as that through which the stranger in blood

dred to the descent.

¹ Bon = stem, stock; bonedd = stock, pedigree; boneddig =

² V.C. II. xvi. 3 W.L. XIII. ii. 64.

having a stock or pedigree.

⁴ Id.

CHAP. III. must pass before he became a Cymro under the tribal rules of South Wales.

The chief of kindred.

According to the Venedotian Code, the chief of kindred must not be either a maer or canghellor of the Prince, but an uchelwr of the country, and his claim must not be by maternity. He was entitled to 24d. for every woman brought by marriage into the kindred, and 24d. from every youth admitted by him to the kindred.

And he had to pay 1*l*. yearly ² to the lord, or higher chieftain, to whom he was thus placed in a semi-feudal relation.

He was assisted by other officers. The Gwentian Code mentions as indispensable the representative (teispan tyly), the avenger of the kindred (dialwr) and the avoucher (ardelwr).³

Organisation of the kindred. The Triads thus enlarge upon the organisation of the kindred:—

Three indispensables of a kindred: its chief of kindred (pencenedl), its avenger (dialwr), and its representative (theisbantyle).

A chief of kindred is to be the oldest efficient man in the kindred to the ninth descent, and his privilege and office are to move the country and court in behalf of his man, and he is the speaker of his kindred in the conventional raith of country and federate country, and it is the duty of every man of the kindred to listen to him, and for him to listen to his man.

The averager of a kindred leads it to battle and war as there may be occasion, and he pursues evil-doers, brings them before the court, and punishes them according to the sentence of the court and judgment of the country.

The representative is the mediating man—in court, and in congregation and in combat, and in every foreign affair. He is to be one of the wise men of the kindred by raith of chiefs of households (penteuluoedd) in the kindred, and be a coadjutor

¹ V.C. II. xix. and D.C. II. ² D.C. II. xxiii. 55. xxiii. 34. ³ G.C. II. xxxix. 38.

with the chief of kindred in every raith and convention of CHAP. III. country; and he is to be elected by the raith of his kindred to the ninth descent by lot, i.e. by tacit vote.1

We are reminded, therefore, that the organisation of the kindred existed for defence and border warfare, as well as for the maintenance of legal rights.

If the Venedotian Code mentions the semi-feudal Every relation of the chief of kindred to the lord or higher chieftain, it would seem from the Triads representing early or later tradition (whichever it may have been) chief of that a kind of semi-feudal relation was established also between the chief of kindred and the men of the kindred.

kinsman to be a man and kin' to the kindred.

Three indispensables of a chief of kindred: being an efficient man, being the eldest of the efficient men of his kindred to the end of the ninth descent, and being the chief of a household (penteulu), or a man with a wife and children by legitimate marriage; and every one of the kindred is to be a 'man' and a · kin' to him (yn wr ac yn gar iddo).2

This tradition seems to be corroborated by the statements of the Codes, but with the curious difference that, as we shall see, in the Codes the 'lord' takes the place of the 'chief of kindred,' suggesting (as often happens) that the later traditions sometimes hail from an earlier stage in tribal life than those described in the Codes.

Be this as it may, the next point arises, how and when the entrance into the kindred and the establishment of this relation of man and kin took place.

Beginning with the Codes, a distinction must be drawn between the reception of a son into the kindred and the accession of the son to the full rights of a tribesman in the kindred.

¹ W.L. XIII. ii. 88. ² Id. XIII. ii. 165, and see W.L. XIII. ii. 67.

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Form of reception into the kindred.

As to the first, according to the Venedotian Code, in the case of a legitimate child the proof of kinship on the introduction of the child into the kindred was the oath of the mother in the church where the burial place of her people was, she placing her right hand on the altar and the relics, and her left hand upon the head of her child.¹

The ceremony of formal reception is thus described in the Venedotian Code:—

Thus a son is to be received as of kin. The father himself may receive him, after he is lawfully affiliated to him by his mother. If the father be not alive, the chief of the kindred with six may receive him, and those of the best men of his kindred, and thus he is to be received; the *chief of the kindred* is to take the hands of the child between his own hands, and give him a kiss, for a kiss is a sign of affinity, and then [the others are to do the same]. If there be no *chief of kindred*, twenty-one of the best men of the kindred, and the man who shall be in the place of the lord (argluyd) is to take the boy by his right hand, &c.²

The young tribesman attains his rights at fourteen.

As regards the attainment by the young tribesman of his full tribal rights, the following is from the Venedotian Code:—

From the time when a boy is born until he shall be fourteen years of age, he is to be at his father's platter, and his father lord (argluyd) over him, and he is to receive no punishment but that of his father, and he is not to possess a penny of his property (da) during that time only in common with his father. since his father during that time is to be responsible for him for everything.

At the end of fourteen years the father is to bring his son to the lord (argluyd) and commend him to his charge, and then the youth is to become his man, and to be on the privilege of his lord; and he is himself to answer for every claim that may be made on him, and he is to have his da (cattle or property).

From that age [fourteen] onwards, he is of the same privilege

¹ V.C. II. xxx., and see also ² V.C. II. xxxi. 25. G.C. II. xxxix. 40-41.

with an innate boneddig, for he has no privilege excepting his CHAP. III. descent, as he ascends not to the privilege of his father till his father's death.1

The completeness of the transference of the Fathernot obligation for the son's maintenance from the father to the lord is shown further by the fact that on the son's death after attaining fourteen and leaving no the lord. child, the lord succeeds to his da, and not the father 2

to maintain him after fourteen, but

And in another passage in the Venedotian Code it is explicitly stated that at fourteen a son is to be taken by the father to his lord, to become a man to the lord, and further it is added, 'and from that time forth he is to be supported by his lord.'3

A later development of this relation is mentioned in another treatise,4 which states that a son is to become a lord's man at fourteen, and at twenty-one take land from his lord and do military service for him. This was a very natural extension of the older tribal relation, which, though one of kinship, also involved the common duty of mutual defence, and also participation in marauding enterprises in which kinsmen fought together under their chief of kindred.

Returning, however, from military service to the The lord right of maintenance, which the young tribesman supplies claimed at the age when he also became liable to discharge the tribesman's duties, many cases of analogy in the Codes would seem to imply that it involved his being supplied with cattle by his lord

him with

¹ V.C. II. xxviii., and see the same point as to villani in the xvii. 31. Latin version of the laws, L.W. II. xl. 15.

² V.C. II. xxviii., and W.L. X.

³ V.C. II. i. 34.

⁴ W.L. VIII. xi. 34.

CHAP. III. or by the chief of kindred. Whether agriculture or the grazing of cattle were the tribesman's means of support, oxen would be needed for his ploughing, and a share in the common herd of cattle to provide the meat and milk required to maintain him and his wife and children.

He had them from the tribe. not from his father.

If so much as this be stated in the Venedotian Code, or is to be implied from its statements, the fact is very important, for whether it were the lord or the chief of kindred who had to supply the young tribesman on coming of age with his full tribal rights and cattle, it shows that he got them somehow from the tribe or kindred—i.e. from the lord, whose man he had become, whether a territorial lord over several kindreds, or the chief of his own kindred. In either case, his lord was the representative of the tribe or of the kindred; which of the two hardly can matter much. If the lord were the higher chieftain of the greater kindred of which the tribesman's kindred formed a part, the young tribesman might well be man and kin to him as well as to the chief of his own kindred.

The Triads call the bundle of rights his cyvarnys.

Passing now to the evidence of the Triads, as already said, it is quite possible that on such a point they may record earlier traditions than the Codes. Their statements do not seem, on the whole, inconsistent with the facts just learned from the Codes. Greater stress, however, is laid upon the bundle of tribal rights acquired by the tribesman at the age of fourteen. They present some graphic details, and, without leaning too much upon them, they may at least be listened to.

This bundle of rights is designated throughout the Triads by the curious symbolic word cyvarwys.

The word is not unknown to the Codes, and is CHAP. III. used as an equivalent of what may be called a 'perquisite' or 'customary payment.' Thus, the chief of the household, who is a son of the Prince (brenhin), was to receive three pounds yearly from him as his cycarus, and the chief of song a bridal cyvarus from every maiden on marriage.2 But the word is used in the Triads apparently for the provi- The sion granted by the tribe to the tribesman on his consisted coming of age. It is thus defined in the Triads:-

of five free erws, cotillage,

Three cyvarwys of an innate Cymro: five free erws; cotillage of the waste (cyvar gobaith); and hunting.3

And from another passage we learn that something like this was the usual provision made under the tribal system for those who had a right of maintenance, and who were therefore called priodorion. This passage shows that not only the 'innate Cymro,' The usual but also the men of the Court by reason of their provision for mainoffice, and, further, the clergy, had this right of tenance. maintenance, and so were priodorion.

There are three sorts of proprietors (priodorion), viz.:-(1) Those naturally born free, (2) men of the court, and (3) clergy. The first of the three are called laics, and to them pertains the privilege of location upon land and cyvarwys . . . To the third class, or the clergy, there pertains the privilege of teachers, with an allowance to each from each plough within the district where he shall officiate as an authorised teacher, and his land of privilege free to him and his maintenance secured to him under the privilege of his services.4

Another triad describes the usual methods by which maintenance was provided for such persons, and applies the word cyvarwys to the maintenance:

¹ V.C. I. vii. 11, and D.C. I. x. 2.

³ W.L. XIII. ii. 83.

² D.C.I. xxv. and G.C. I. xxxvii.

⁴ W.L. XIII. ii. 193.

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From three things are those who have free maintenance (trwyddedogion) to obtain their cyvarwys: (1) 5 free erws; and when that by any circumstance is not available, then (2) from a plough penny; and when that is not available, then (3) from a spear penny, or a spear charge, regulated by the occasion from every household of the kindred.

Finally, the Triads confirm the Codes in stating that the innate Cymro attained his *cyvarwys*, or bundle of tribal rights, on coming of age:—

Three persons who pay *ebediw* without land; (1) a boy under 14, for it is then he is to enter upon cattle (*da*) of his own and do service; (2) an innate boneddig; and (3) a *cyvarwysed* man.²

Another triad is as follows:-

Given to the tribesman on coming of age. Three original privileges of every native Cymro (and also under the name of Cymro is included the Cymraes):—(1) Cyvarwys and fruition of five free erws under the privilege of his origin as an innate Cymro . . . (2) The privilege of bearing defensive arms . . . and (3) The privilege of raith under the protection of his chief of kindred: and at the age of growth of beard they are bestowed on a Cymro, and upon a Cymraes when she shall marry.³

If this passage means anything, it surely means that even during the lifetime of the parents the 'privileges of every Cymro' (including the cyvarwys of 5 free erws, &c.) attached to the son on his coming of age.

This, as we have seen, is consistent with the Venedotian Code, though the latter makes no mention of the 5 free erws, and does not apply the word cyvarwys to the bundle of rights which the new tribesman acquires when he becomes the acknowledged man of the chief of kindred or the higher lord.

Lastly, there is obviously something in this gift of the means of maintenance by the lord or the

¹ W.L. XIII. ii. 200.

² W.L. XIV. iii. 2.

³ W.L. XIII. ii. 65.

chief of kindred to the youth on his coming of age, CHAP.III. involving an idea or principle very much like that of investiture. He becomes 'man and kin' to the chief The of kindred, and, entering thus upon a tribesman's eyrarmys responsibilities, he is invested by right with the investicycarwys or donation of the necessary provision for full tribal his tribal maintenance and the fulfilment of the tribesman's duties. Is it not possible that there may be something in the cycarwys which is typical of the ceremony of tribal investiture?

If it be permissible on this point to travel outside the lines of the Welsh laws, there is a passage in the story of Kilhwch and Olwen, which is significant of the almost feudal character of the cyvarwys. Kilhuch confesses that he is not yet of an age to wed, but yet he wants Olwen for a wife. His father tells him, 'That will be easy for thee. Arthur is thy first cousin (cewynderw). Go therefore unto Arthur, and ask him to cut thy hair, and ask this of him as a cyuarwys.' Then he goes to Arthur, and connected Arthur tells him he will give him whatever cyvaricys with to he may ask for. The youth thereupon asks him first the story to dress his hair. And Arthur takes 'a golden comb hweh and and scissors, whereof the loops were of silver,' and he dresses his hair. Then Arthur asks him, 'Who art thou? For my heart warms unto thee, and I know that thou art come of my blood. He recognises that he is a first cousin (keuynderw), and promises to give him whatever he may ask for. Lastly, the youth asks for Oliven as his cyvaricys.1

with tonof Kil-Olmen.

¹ Guest's Mabinogion, p. 219 | tion of land given by a brenhin to

et seq. Red Book of Hergest his man as a cyvarwys. W.L. (1887), i. p. 105 et seq. See men-X. M. 17, and W.L. XI. i. 1.

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How easily the submission to tonsure, as the outward acknowledgment of rightful service to a chief of kindred on becoming his man, and the receipt thereupon of a cyvarwys from the lord might grow into something very much like the homage and investiture of feudal knighthood!

We shall see by-and-by that tonsure was the ceremony whereby a stranger in blood became the aillt or tonsured servant of a lord. But the point here is the connection of tonsure with the recognition of kinship, on the youth becoming 'man and kin' to a chief of kindred.

Kilhwch goes to Arthur, and demands tonsure and his cyvarwys, not only because Arthur is King, but also because he is of his own kindred, and probably also the chief of kindred to him. And the whole story turns on Arthur's recognition that the youth is of his kin. It would seem, then, that there was a tonsure for kinship and another tonsure for service, and most likely a distinction between the two.

Earlier instance of tonsure connected with kinship.

Another, and perhaps older, illustration of the ceremony of tonsure, as the recognition of kinship, is found in the story related by Nennius of Vortigern and Germanus. Vortigern's son, whom he tried to fasten upon Germanus, at the suggestion of the latter, and to the great disgust of the former, takes a razor and scissors and comb to his real father—i.e. Vortigern—saying to him, 'Thou art my father; shave and cut the hair of my head.' 1

These traditional stories seem to add some colour

¹ Nennius, Hist, Britan.

to the suggestion that, in this matter at least, the CHAP. III Triads represent an older tradition than that of the Codes.

To sum up the evidence, it would seem, then, from the passages quoted from both the Codes and Triads, that the kindred included the descendants and his of a common ancestor to the ninth degree, and that not of this kindred was bound together not only by the tie of a common ancestry, but also by the tribal relation of each one of its members to the chief of kindred. This relation was that of being a 'man' to the

Relation between the chief 'man' one tenancy, but of kinship.

Nor had this relation apparently, in its origin, anything to do with land. It seems to belong to the essence of the tribal system itself, for the chief of kindred of the district was not necessarily the territorial lord.

And further, if we may trust the Triads, the chief The young of kindred had, besides those mentioned, duties of a paternal character to the young tribesmen. The youths who became his men at the early age of 14 not only became entitled to maintenance, but also to training. And this, we are told, was not merely military. The organisation of the kindred extended also to the provision of education in the domestic arts necessary to pastoral and semi-agricultural tribes.

tribesman entitled to maintenance and training.

There are three domestic arts, being primary branches-husbandry or cultivation of land (aru tir), dairy farming (maeronaeth) and weaving, and the chiefs of kindreds (pencenedloedd) are to enforce instruction in them. 1

"chief"

¹ Ancient Laws of Wales, | bychain) on the chief's dependents W.L. XIII. ii. 75. As to the quartering of these youths (qweision

see App. B.e. p. 86.

The seven elders the guardians of kinship.

Associated with the chief of kindred, and acting as his coadjutors, were the seven Elders of the kindred, whose duty it was to preserve by tradition the knowledge of kinship, and who had an important place in judicial proceedings, inasmuch as it was their duty, according to the Codes, to swear to the kin of anyone claiming by kin and descent.²

These Elders were 'Chiefs of Households' within the kin, and were an important representative element in the organisation of the kindred. From one passage in the Triads, it would seem that the official representative of the kindred was in some cases chosen by them.

Three raithmen of a kindred—its chief of kindred, its seven elders (henadur) as coadjutors of its chief of kindred, and its representative (teisbantyle), and he is a man of the kindred who shall be chosen on account of his wisdom and his literary knowledge, and to be chosen by lot or silent vote, of the elders of the kindred.³

Duties of the ideal chief of kindred. Finally, another of the Triads sums up the duties of the ideal chief of kindred in these graphic words:—

Three things, if possessed by a man, make him fit to be a chief of kindred:—That he should speak on behalf of his kin and be listened to, that he should fight on behalf of his kin and be feared, and that he should be security on behalf of the kin and be accepted.⁴

IV. THE GRADE OF KINDRED TO THE FOURTH DEGREE OF DESCENT.

The Denbigh Extent has made us familiar with the group of descendants down to great-grandchildren,

¹ W.L. XIII. ii. 162.

³ W.L. XIII, ii. 162.

² D.C. II. viii. 63, and G.C.

⁴ Id.

II. xxx. 23.

or the fourth degree of descent, holding together as CHAP.III. a tribal unit of occupation under the name of the wele, or quely, of the common ancestor.

And the Denbigh Extent also supplied the state- Grade of ment that inheritance was allowed no further than to the fourth degree. If there were no kindred within that limit the lord took the inheritance by escheat.

kindred to the fourth

Now, there is a passage in the Venedotian Code, headed 'The Law of Brothers for Land,' repeated in substance by the other Codes and also in other legal treatises, to the following effect:-

Thus, brothers are to share land between them: four erws Applied to to every tyddyn (homestead). Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn, altered land, in it to twelve erws to the uchelwr and eight to the aillt, and four to the godacog; yet, nevertheless, it is most usual that four erws Code be in the tyddyn.

the Venedotian

[Here follows the measure of the erw.]

If there be no buildings on the land, the youngest son is to divide all the patrimony (trew y tat), and the eldest is to choose. and each in seniority choose unto the youngest.

If there be buildings the youngest brother but one is to divide the tyddyns, for in that case he is the meter: and the youngest to have his choice of the tyddyns: and after that he is to divide all the patrimony: and by seniority they are to choose unto the youngest: and that division is to continue during the lives of the brothers.

This refers to the division among brothers; but the family holding was not broken up by it, because the division was not final. The sons of the brothers did not claim per stirpes. They were first cousins, and had the right to claim an equality of shares per capita.

Division among brothers, and again among cousins per capita.

And after the brothers are dead, the first cousins are to equalise if they will it: and thus they are to do: the heir of the youngest brother is to equalise, and the heir of the eldest brother is to choose, and so by seniority unto the youngest: and that distribution is to continue between them during their lives.

CHAP, III. Final division among second consins per capita.

This refers to the equalisation of the shares of the grandchildren who are first cousins. But still the family holding is not broken up. Yet another division is provided for, to take place, when, presumably, all the grandchildren are dead. Then the greatgrandchildren or second cousins finally divide equally per capita.

And if second cousins should dislike the distribution which took place between their parents, they also may co-equate in the same manner as the first cousins: and after that division no one is either to distribute or to co-equate. Tir gwelyawc is to be treated as we have above stated.1

So also in the other Codes.

In the Dimetian Code the same rules of division are stated as follows:-

When brothers share their patrimony between them, the youngest is to have the principal tyddyn, and all the buildings of his father, and eight erws of land, his boiler, his fuel hatchet, and his coulter, because a father cannot give those three to any but the youngest son, and though they should be pledged they never become forfeited. Then let every brother take a homestead (eissydyn) with eight erws of land, and the youngest son is to share, and they are to choose in succession from the eldest to the youngest.

Three times shall the same patrimony be shared between three grades of a kindred, first between brothers, the second time between cousins, the third time between second cousins; after that there is no propriate share of land.

After there shall have been a sharing of land acquiesced in by co-inheritors, no one of them has a claim on the share of the other, he having issue, except for a sub-share when the time for that shall arrive. Yet whosoever shall not have any issue of his body, his co-inheritors, within the three degrees of kin from the stock are to be his heirs.2

Now, without inquiring at present whether the description of family rights contained in these pas-

¹ V.C. II. xii. Tir gwelyawc = land of weles or gwelys.

² D.C. II. xxiii. 1-3 and 19.

sages was primarily applicable to actual ownership CHAP.III. by a family of particular land in the modern sense, or whether it applied rather to the tribesmen's shares or rights of occupation, grazing, and co-tillage in the land of the tribe such as belonged to the weles of the Denbigh Survey, there must surely be a close connection between these weles or quelys and the tir quelyauc of these passages.

They describe the internal rights of a family This exholding of whatever kind it might be. And certainly they seem to describe exactly what is necessary to explain the care which is taken in the Survey to bracing keep up the memory of the successive divisions of grandthe original wele. In the case of the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalvk, there is, so to speak, the external undivided unity preserved, but there is also recognised the family division of the wele of a presumably dead ancestor into the several weles of his sons. And, further, the division of these into the weles or gavells of their sons, and so on. And if we ask why the original wele remains externally undivided all the time till the family has grown into a community of a score or two of descendants, this passage from the Codes clearly seems to explain the reason. So long as any one of the sons were alive there was to be no internal or family division among The nele grandsons; and until all the sons and grandsons had died no final division was to take place among greatgrandchildren. And, therefore, the original wele of rights remains the external unit, till the division between great-grandsons has been effected.

That the wele occupied the homesteads, with land round them, in quasi ownership in severalty

plains the weles of the survevs emgreat sons.

holds together till the final division per capita takes place.

CHAP.III. —i.e. in the exclusive occupation of the several families—and also held undivided shares in the pasture and waste of the district in common, along with other weles, does not necessarily prevent the term tir quelyawc from embracing the whole.

Be this as it may, for the present we may conclude that, in the case both of particular ownership and tribal occupation of land, the limit of kindred to the fourth degree of descent was an important practical limit of family or tribal rights.

The same grade of kindred applied to strangers who intermarry with tribeswomen.

It has already been incidentally mentioned that the rules regulating the attainment of tribal rights by the stranger in blood bring us again to the same limit or grade of kinship. The descendant of the stranger in blood, whose entrance into tribal rights has been hastened by repeated intermarriages, becomes a priodawr and the founder of a new stock or kindred in the fourth degree of descent.

Here, then, is an important line or limit marking a distinctive grade of kinship, and inclosing, as it were, a distinct group of kinsmen embracing greatgrandchildren or second cousins.

It was the limit of certain responsibili. ties.

For what other purposes did it exist?

There were three distinct responsibilities which were confined within this special grade of kinshipi.e. they were not extended to the wider kindred.

Three things which are not to be done by any further of kin than a second cousin:—(1) To pay saraad with such as shall have nothing of their own to pay; (2) To pay cattle without surety with the son of an alltud by a Cymraes beyond the third kin; (3) To mutually uphold and keep each other's share with property and oath by those beyond second cousins, for [land] is not to be shared further.1

W.L. XIV. xxi. 21, and see V.C. II. xxxi. 10.

Now, what were these three things?

CHAP, III

First. The saraad was the payment for insult Payment or injury short of homicide. Kinsmen as far as of saraad. second cousins had joint responsibility to the injured person for the crimes of their kinsman, and no kinsman beyond this grade was responsible unless the crime amounted to homicide.1

Secondly. Kinsmen within this grade were respon- Marrying sible for the marriage of daughters.2 As a rule, the ters. daughter did not inherit family land with her brothers, but she was entitled to her quaddol, or marriage portion,3 which she took with her on marriage, and took back again in case she separated from her husband within seven years. After that, if the marriage continued, the husband and wife were jointly entitled to the combined chattels of both.4 But the kinsmen's duty to her did not stop here.

She was entitled to be married to a free tribesman, so that her sons might have full tribal rights.

But if this responsible family group gave the daughter away to a non-tribesman, who was not a member of a family or kindred, so that her sons could not receive inheritance in tribal rights from their father, then they had not fulfilled their responsibility to her.

The sons could in such a case have no inheritance from their father, and, therefore, tribal law gave them

¹ V.C. III. i. and G.C. II. viii. ² So in the tale, 'Kilhwch

and Olwen,' Red Book of Hergest (1887 ed.), i. p. 119; Guest, p. 234. When Yspaddaden Penkawr is asked to give his daughter in marriage, he answered, 'Her four

great-grandmothers and her four great-grandsires are yet alive; it is needful that I take counsel of them.'

³ One half of a brother's share in chattels, V.C. II. i. 64.

⁴ D.C. II, xviii, 26,

CHAP. III.

Right of their sons by maternity in some cases.

an inheritance by right of maternity in the family rights of the group who had given their mother away to a stranger. And, further, as the sons would have no kinsmen on their father's side to be responsible for them, tribal law threw the responsibility on the mother's kindred. They became responsible for the saraad of their kinswoman's sons in case they committed crime. This was called 'payment of cattle without surety,' because (as explained in the Venedotian Code) no bond of suretyship was necessary, and 'with cattle every payment formerly was made.'2

The third point refers to the final division of tir gwelyawc among second cousins. After this there was no further joint occupation, but only what may be described as joint warranty of their common title in case it was disputed.

In all three cases the limit of responsibility was that of the fourth degree of descent—the great-grandsons of a common ancestor—and there was no liability beyond it.

V. THE GRADE OF KINDRED TO THE SEVENTH AND NINTH DEGREES.

Middle grade to seventh degree of descent. Passing now from the definite grade of kindred confined to the fourth degree or second cousins, it is at first sight more difficult to comprehend exactly the meaning of the middle grade of kindred—i.e. the grade extending to the seventh degree of descent, or fifth cousins, which was the grade primarily re-

¹ V.C. II. i. 59.

² V.C. II. xxxi. 10, and see II. i. 61, and D.C. II. xxiii. 36,

and W.L. IV. i. 32, and X.

sponsible for the crimes of kinsmen as regards Chap. III. homicide

There is some confusion in the Codes in the Primarily method of counting degrees of relationship and in the statements of the exact degree of kinship to be included in this middle grade; but there seems to be reason in the inference that the limit of the seventh degree of descent in the case of responsibility for homicide was based upon the principle that the greater crime involving heavier payments necessitated a wider area of responsibility.

galanas for homi-

But the full responsibility of the kindred for the galanas, or payment for homicide, did not end with kinsmen within the seventh degree of descent.

In the Venedotian Code there are two versions as to the payment of galanas.

The first 1 makes the amount fall in thirds. One- How the third fell on the murderer and his father and mother, shared if living; two-thirds fell on the kindred. Of the kinsmen. first third the murderer and his children were to pay two parts, and his father and mother the other part—the father paying twice as much as the mother

The kindred on whom the other two-thirds fell was defined as 'from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent.'

This exhausts the galanas, but there is still the Kindred further provision of the 'spear penny,' in aid of the ninth murderer, in case of his default in paying his share. The deficiency in this case was to be gathered from the kindred beyond the seventh descent, or fifth aid of the

to the degree liable for 'spear penny 'in murderer.

And thus, according to the Venedotian CHAP.III. cousins. Code, it was to be obtained:-

The murderer is to take a servant of the lord, carrying with him a relic, and wherever he shall meet with a person beyond the seventh degree of kindred, let such person take his oath that he is not descended from any of the four kindreds from which the other is descended, and unless he take that oath, let him pay a spear penny, and if he take the oath he is to be exempted.1

The other Venedotian version may be summarised thus:—

The first third [of the galanas] falls on the murderer, and the mother and father and brothers and sisters with him, for those persons would receive with him a third of the galanas if paid to them, therefore let them pay so with him . . . (one-third of it on the mother and father, one-third on brothers and sisters, and one-third on the murderer, . . . males paying two parts and females one).

The remaining two-thirds fall on the kindred (two parts of it on the kindred of the father and one part on the kindred of the mother).

The kindred for this purpose is confined within the seventh man thus :-

> 1. Brother = braut.

2. 1st cousin = keuenderu.

3. 2nd cousin = keuerderu.

4. 3rd cousin = kevuvn.

5. 4th cousin = gorchevuen.

6. 5th cousin = gorchau.

7. Son of 5th cousin = mab gorchau.

And then it continues:—

If the murderer have nothing to pay with, it is right to give him a spear penny to assist him, and that shall be paid to him from the seventh man onwards: those seven men are brother, first cousin, second cousin, third cousin, fourth cousin, fifth cousin. and a kinsman, son of a fifth cousin,2 and since relationship can be no further counted, let them beyond that pay to him a spear penny. And the manner he shall collect a spear penny from the men he may find of his kindred, when he may not know how to

¹ V.C. III. i. 13.

galanas for his son, and the son ² In the case of the son of the does not, V.C. III. i. 20.

fifth cousin, 'the father pays the

trace his relationship to them, is to take a relic he may credit, and CHAP. III. when he shall meet with one of those men, let him take his oath that he does not originate from his kindred, or pay him a spear penny.1

There is here the same confusion in the description of the fifth cousin or seventh in descent—i.e. the great-grandson's great-grandson; but one thing is clear: there are men of the kindred beyond what we have called the middle grade of kinship, and these are to contribute the spear penny up to the ninth degree in descent—otherwise who are the remoter kindred by whom the spear penny is to be paid?

VI. THE REASON OF THE THREE GRADES OF KINSHIP.

The importance of the recognition in the kin- Natural dred of the three grades of kinship makes it worth the three while to attempt to get a glimpse, at least, of the grades of circumstances or facts of human nature out of which it arose. So remarkable a feature in the structure of tribal society must surely have had a rational and natural basis.

Without travelling outside the knowledge derived from the Welsh laws, there are indications that it had a connection with the hearth.

There were two tribal chieftainships within the cenedl, or kindred—viz. that of the pencenedl and that of the penteulu. Under each chief of kindred were many chiefs of households.

The hearth (aelwyd or ayluyt2) was the centre of The the house, and it was sometimes metaphorically used and the for the household.

mark of the kindred upon it.

Three hearths (aelwyd) that are to make satisfaction on account of such as shall not be under fealty to the lord—that of the father, of an elder brother, and of a father-in-law.3

¹ V.C. III. i. 17. ² V.C. II. xiii. 4. ³ W.L. XIII. ii. 132.

CHAP. III.

The right of daden-hudd, or to the uncovering of the parental hearth.

The hearth, moreover, was the symbol of family ownership and inheritance. The right of the son on succession was to uncover the hearth of his father or ancestor. The legal term for the recovery by an ejected son of his patrimony was dadenhudd, or the uncovering again of the parental hearth. The term was a graphic one. The fire-back-stone, set up against the central pillar of the hut supporting the roof (pentanvaen = head-fire-stone), was a memorial or witness of land and homestead (tir a thyle), because it bore the mark of the kindred upon it.¹

There are three dead testimonies concerning land: (1) The witness of heirs as far as great-grandchildren (gorwyron), or beyond, is credited in court as to what they heard from their ancestors. . . . (2) Elders of country and kindred (gwlad a chenedl) as to what they know of kin and descent; (3) The fire-back-stone of the plaintiff's father, or of his grandfather, or of his great-grandfather, or others of his kindred. . . . 2

The significance of the covering and uncovering of the hearth.

And the covering and uncovering of the fire had and has still a picturesque significance.³

Whether the fire were of wood or turf, the hearth was swept out every night. The next thing was to single out one particular glowing ember—the seed of fire—which was carefully restored to the hearth and covered up with the remaining ashes for the night. This was the nightly covering of the fire. The morning process was to uncover the 'seed of fire,' to sweep out the ashes under which it was hid, and then deftly to place back the live ember on the hearth, piling over it the fuel for the new day's fire. This was the uncovering of the fire, which thus from year end to year end might never go out. Anyone who has seen the process performed

¹ W.L. XIII. ii. 99. ² W.L. XIII. ii. 227. ³ V.C. II. i. 31.

on a Celtic hearth will understand the natural CHAP. III. transition in the mind of the Welsh poet, Henry Vaughan, in his lines on 'Sleep,' from the highflown metaphor-

> The pious soul by night Is like a clouded star. . . .

to the more homely one-

Though sleep, like ashes, hide My lamp and life. . . .

and see at once the symbolic significance as well of the dadenhudd as of the curfew.

The suggestions of folk-lore might lead us further to recognise important religious superstitions connected with the hearth. But even without this the picture of the son, or grandson, or great-grandson,1 returning perhaps from exile to claim the paternal homestead by uncovering again the ancestral hearth, is graphic and solemn enough to emphasise for us The the importance of the Cymric hearth as, in a very the literal sense, the focus of the rights of kindred.

hearth 'focus' of the kindred.

There is significance also in the bar to the rights of realisation of the exile's rights to the full recovery of his patrimony, resulting from the existence on the land where such was the case of 'occupiers who had grown into priodorion,' and founded a family hearth by occupation for four generations. In that case the returning exile could not oust the actual occupant. The fire-back-stone of the new occupant's family had

father or his great-grandfather shall have been on the land, if he do not mind to claim as in that case he should! by kin and descent.

¹ W.L. VII. i. 26. 'A person is not to claim dadenhudd, except by the hearth he himself shall uncover, or his father before him. A person is not to claim land by dadenhudd because his grand-

CHAP.III. acquired the mark of a kindred upon it, and the two claimants must therefore divide the land between them.¹

Returning, then, to the consideration of the three grades of kindred from the point of view of the family hearth, the first two had obviously a foundation in the nature of things, inasmuch as they were bounded at one end by the reach of the actual sight and at the other end by the direct memory of a single person.

The ancestor may live to see great-grand-sons, and remember his own great-grand-father.

The eldest living ancestor, as chief of the household occupying the principal homestead or *tyddyn*, and seated by the ancestral hearth, might well live to see growing up around it a family group extending to great-grandchildren.

On the other hand, looking backwards to his own childhood, he might well recollect his own great-grandfather sitting as head of the household at the same hearth, just as his great-grandchildren would some day hereafter remember him. Thus the extreme natural reach of the knowledge of the head of the household might cover seven generations. If during this period the purity of the family blood had been duly preserved, the kindred within these natural limits would be a perfect kindred.

Memory and sight may well cover seven generations,

and tradition go back two more. Finally, if family tradition went back two stages farther than actual memory, then it would embrace the larger kindred to the ninth degree of descent. And as, in all probability, amongst the various household hearths there would always be present and conspicuous that of the head of the kindred, the patriarch under whose chieftainship the groups of

¹ V.C. II. xiv. 2.

lesser kindreds were united into the larger kindred, CHAP.III. tradition thus backed by outward and visible signs would, in the course of ages, easily invest such tribal rules with the force and strength of customary law.1

That rules and grades of kinship thus ingrained Force of in the structure of tribal life should be applied as custom. they arose to other matters, such as the attainment by strangers in blood of the privilege of kinship or the acquirement of proprietary rights in land, and finally that the same rules should mould the form of land ownership, when at last attained, into a family holding by the kindred within the fourth degree-all this was natural enough. And when we realise how customary law in these further matters became thus. in the same way, formed and fixed by the force of constant repetition, backed by household and tribal tradition, we begin to understand the tenacity with which the tribal system everywhere was able to maintain itself through centuries and even thousands of years.

The tribal system of blood-relationship never grew old. It was always forging new links in an endless chain, and the links of kindred always overlapped one another.

Were Welsh tribal law historically isolated and The alone, the account thus given of the structure of hearth connected

township adjoining Wrexham, a gentleman of estate gave his name as 'Humfridus ap Robert ap Will'm ap Rob't ap David ap Griffith ap Robert.' In this case seven generations were represented in one man's name.

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that the Welsh knew the names of their ancestors to the sixth or seventh degree, and sometimes further. Mr. A. N. Palmer has referred me to the fact that as late as the time of Norden's survey (A.D. 1620) of Abenbury, a

with religious superstitions and the worship of ancestors.

CHAP. III. tribal society and of the grades of kinship might perhaps be accepted as sufficient in itself, and the hints given by folklore of still deeper religious and superstitious foundations for the sacredness of the hearth and the sacredness of kinship might perhaps be passed by unheeded.

But when the comparative method forces upon us the fact that in other tribal systems the hearth is surrounded with sacredness as the centre of the worship of ancestors, and that connected with that worship there were found in various tribal systems strangely similar grades of kinship, to shut our eyes to this wider view would be wilful blindness to facts which may throw back, even upon the Welsh tribal system, an important side-light.

When it is considered how large a part tribal religions have played in history by giving to tribal societies the tough tenacity which has enabled them to live through so many ages and to make and maintain such conquests as they have done-conspicuously in the case of the Jews and the Arabs—we may be thankful even to folklore for reminding us that the ties of Cymric blood relationship may have had religious sanctions long ago obscured, if not altogether obliterated by Christian and ecclesiastical influences.



CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY-(continued).

I. THE RELATION OF THE GRADES OF KINDRED TO THE OCCUPATION OF LAND.

THE foregoing considerations lead to the recognition CHAP. IV. of the extreme antiquity of the grades of kinship.

Rooted in the nature of things and moulded by the necessities and circumstances of tribal life, they in their turn seem to have controlled and forced into ancient. their mould any new elements which might enter from time to time within the range of tribal life and require adjustment to it.

One of these new elements was undoubtedly encountered, earlier or later, in connection with occupation and ownership of land.

The passage from nomad life to settled occupation involved the absorption, so to speak, of the new element into the tribal system.

It is not easy to attain a clear idea of how the How they problem as to land was solved.

It is easy enough to assume that whatever of relation land ownership grew up in the tribe was tribal ownership. But this, if strictly true, would carry us

grades of kinship

CHAP. IV. but a very little way into a correct understanding of the relation of the tribesmen to land.

It will not do to bring into the question the modern democratic view of a society in which equality of rights and shares settled every question. Such an idea was foreign to the tribal system.

Careful consideration of such facts as turn up incidentally in the surveys and Codes affords the only chance that a true understanding can be reached, and, after all, survivals of apparently conflicting principles may suggest that there is a misunderstanding somewhere needing further light to dispel it.

In the first place we must try to get behind the political or juridical arrangements, the cantrefs and the cymwds with their so-called manors in which representatives and officers of the chieftain maintained a kind of lordship approaching to the territorial and manorial type.

The kindreds to the ninth and fourth degree

Recognising the existence of this element and its importance and possible antiquity as belonging to the question of chieftainship (to be hereafter considered), and confining attention to the strictly tribal occupation of land, we have first to recognise the relation to land of both the greater kindred to the ninth degree and the lesser kindred to the fourth degree of descent.

The kindred to the ninth degree acknowledging a common ancestry and organised into a social or political unit under its chief of kindred, its representative, and its seven elders, was a clearly defined and separate group.

both related to land. Within each of these greater groups of kindred were the lesser groups of kindred to the fourth

degree of descent, embracing great-grandchildren or Chap. IV. second cousins, each group forming a separate wele or progenies under the name of the great-grandfather, whether dead or alive, until the final division among second cousins when all the sons and the grandsons should be dead, and in the meantime divided into sub-weles or gavells, as the case might be, under their several heads of households or eldest living ancestor.

It is these lesser groups or weles that the Denbigh Extent represents as the tribal units of land occupation.

Were each of these weles the sole occupants of The head the district in which their members lived and in of a role a tiriang which their cattle were pastured, the head of the wele or landed might be regarded as the landowner of the district, and a ring fence might be thrown round the land occupied by him and his wele. He would be the tiriawq or landed person in whom was vested the tribal proprietorship of the land occupied by the numerous members of his wele.

The fact that he and his wele were only joint participants with other weles in the tribal rights of the district in undivided shares (as in the case of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk) ought not to blind our eyes to his position as a landed proprietor in the sense that in him were vested the tribal rights of his wele, so far as regards land occupation.

Externally viewed, he might well be regarded as proprietor of the tyddyns or homesteads occupied in severalty by himself and his descendants along with their crofts and cattle yards, and, besides these, of undivided and extensive rights of grazing jointly with other weles. When he, the original head of the

CHAP. IV. wele, was dead, his sons would be the proprietors of the occupation rights of the same original wele, and when the sons were dead the grandsons would succeed them in the proprietorship.

Thus in the Denbigh Extent *Tebrith* was occupied by the *wele* of 'the grandsons of Pythle,' and so, too, the *priodarii* holding the original *wele* of Rand' ap Asser were grandsons, and the *wele* was called by the surveyors 'wele wyrion Rand'.'

The head of a wele an uchelwr or breyr.

Thus whoever was the head of the wele was a landed person and also a chief of household. And by virtue of this double position his so-called 'privilege' was that of an uchelwr or breyr, and in South Wales he was as such a judge in the court of the cymwd or cantref.

Every landed person (tiriawg) being a chief of household (penteulu) is a judge in South Wales.¹

And again:

A breyr is an innate landed person (tiriawg) who is a chief of household (penteulu) with privilege of a court of justice.²

The *uchelwr* or *breyr*, sometimes called a *gwrda*, was a man of responsibility, bound to afford protection and to secure justice out of court as well as in it.

If a man take a woman clandestinely and bring her to the house of an *uchelwr* to sleep with her, and the *gwrda* do not take security for her *amobr*, let him pay it himself.³

It seems to be clear, then, that the *uchelwr* or *breyr* was a 'landed' person and a chief of household, and privileged in respect of his position as

 $^{^1}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 248. 2 W.L. XIII. ii. 218. 3 V.C. II. i. 29.

such. Every chief of kindred and every chief of a CHAP. IV. wele was thus in the sense above mentioned a landed and privileged person, with certain land occupied by himself and his family in severalty in tyddyns and

crofts as well as with large grazing rights over sometimes several and distant districts.

At the same time, extensive rights of grazing implied wealth in the shape of herds of cattle. The possession of numerous oxen implied the lion's share in the produce of co-aration. All this went with his being the landed head of his wele, and made him a powerful man. And yet, at the same time, his landownership, such as it was, could not be an absolute ownership. It was subject to the rules of 'tir quelianc.

To take an actual case, it would seem that under The other these rules Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was during his life the only landed person in his wele. In him its mele were rights as to land were vested.

He was the tiriawg or landed head and uchelwr of the wele, and the only one. All his descendants, members of the wele, were, as to the land, in a subordinate position, with cyvarwys or rights of main-nance. tenance only, which rights of maintenance, however, implied rights of grazing cattle in the common herd and co-aration with fellow tribesmen.

The young tribesmen of Lauwarghe's wele who on coming of age during his lifetime became innate boneddigs did not, however, become joint tenants with Lauwarghe, whether sons, grandsons, or greatgrandsons. Their tribal rights were, not to a joint share in the land, but to that maintenance which was the common portion of every kinsman. They

members of the not joint tenants, or 'landed' persons, but had rights of maintegreater kindred to the ninth degree, or from the

'by kin and descent,' as members of the kindred in the lifetime of their fathers, and the only doubt seems to be whether they claimed it from the head of the lesser or the greater kindred—whether from Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk as head of the wele in which they were born, or from the chief of the

territorial lord of the district.

The innate boneddig claimed his maintenance from the kindred by 'kin and descent,' and not from his father.

Every innate boneddig on coming of age had, as we have seen, to become the man of a lord (argluyd) as well as man and kin to the chief of kindred. Till he was 14 his father was his lord (argluyd), and maintained him at his own platter, but after that age his father was his lord no longer, and the lord (argluyd) whose man he had become had to give him his maintenance. If Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was an uchelwr it seems probable that he may have had cast upon him as head of the wele, and argluyd of his man, the obligation of providing out of his tribal herds the necessary cattle for his maintenance as well as the tyddyn and the usufruct of the 'five free erws' which made up his cyvarwys.

Be this as it may, the new tribesman claimed his maintenance as a member of the kindred, 'by kin and descent,' and not by inheritance from his father.

There is a mysterious meaning hidden apparently in the word *tref*, which would help to clear our vision if it could be itself made transparent.

The phrase for patrimony is tref y tat, suggesting that the son got it from his father's property

¹ D.C. II. viii. 66.

² V.C. II. xxviii. 3-5.

and not from that of the kindred. The word for CHAP. IV. kin is car, and the use of the word cartref in the following passage seems to imply that what the new tribesman got as his cyvarwys came from the kindred

Three things without which there cannot be a home: a separate cartrev, privilege of country and kindred, and cyvarws secured by social compact (cymmrawd).1

All these three things the tribesman got by virtue He of his membership in the social organism of the ascends to his kindred and not by inheritance from his father.

father's privilege landed person on father's death.

But over and above these things that belonged as a to every tribesman as an innate boneddig he had a prospective right of possible succession to his father's or his grandfather's position of privilege as a landed person and the chief of his wele. When he attained to this it was not by 'kin and descent' from the kindred. In the words of the Venedotian Code he had to 'ascend' to it, and he might live and die without ever attaining it. The passage already quoted from the Venedotian Code, which states that the son at 14 who is an innate boneddig has no privilege except his descent, as 'he ascends not to the privilege of his father until his father's death,' states further, 'and no one is a marchog [i.e. a horseman or knight] until he shall ascend.'2

What is the meaning of this addition? It gives The us incidentally another mark of the position of is a horsethe uchelur or breyr, distinguishing him from man; the the subordinate tribesmen of his wele. His mili-boneddig tary dignity when the tribesmen go to battle is foot-

innate only a soldier.

¹ W.L. XIII. ii. 220.

² V.C. II. xxviii. 9.

CHAP. IV. marked by his fighting on horseback, whilst the subordinate tribesmen mostly fight on foot.

Giraldus Cambrensis describes the *nobiliores* as riding to battle on horseback, whilst the greater part of the people go to battle on foot.¹

The nobiliores could hardly be other than the uchelwrs and breyrs, who are described in the Venedotian Code as horsemen, just as Cæsar describes the upper class of tribesmen in Gaul as equites.

So that it becomes clear, on the one hand, that the *innate boneddig* during the lifetime of the common ancestor of the *wele* to which he belonged remained in a subordinate position with rights of maintenance only, claimed 'by kin and descent,' as a member of the kindred. On the other hand, his succession to the position or property of his father by inheritance he could claim only by *dadenhudd—i.e.* by uncovering the family hearth and not by kin and descent.²

II. THE PROPERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL TRIBESMAN UNDER THE CYMRIC TRIBAL SYSTEM.

In trying to realise a condition of things quite alien from anything within the experience of modern life it is always needful to guard against misconceptions arising from the ignorance of some material fact, perhaps too common to be mentioned, and only to be known by accident or inference.

An examination of the evidence of the Extents and the Codes has apparently shown that, setting

¹ Descriptio Kambriæ, I. cviii. | sued by kin and descent.' Vene-

² 'A dadenhudd is not to be dotian Code, II. xiii. 2.

be formed of the character and structure of tribal society and its connection with the occupation of

land

aside the possible introduction into the tribe from CHAP. IV. outside of ideas of private property in land which hardly belong to the tribal system, sufficient of purely tribal arrangements remained at the time of the Extents and the Codes to enable a fair judgment to

So far as relates to the tribal occupation of land, comparithe main facts elicited by the foregoing inquiry other seem to be that the bundle of rights which approached tribal most nearly to ownership were vested in the chiefs of kindreds and the heads of the family groups called weles, whilst the common herd of tribesmen were in the subordinate condition of possessing only the cyvarwys or right of maintenance.

son with

The importance of this conclusion lies in the fact that it gives us a valuable economic point of comparison with other tribal systems, proving that the Cymric tribal system, in its primitive form, belonged to an early stage of economic development.

It can hardly be doubted that the Welsh weles Cymric resemble in their structure much more closely the 'patriarchal family' than what is known as the 'joint family' with its joint ownership under a chief who is only primus inter pares.

weles most resemble the patriarchal family with the patria potestas.

It seems to belong to the more archaic of the two systems.

Now, it has always been one of the mysteries even of the Roman patria potestas how the individuals under it, including all unemancipated sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons and their wives, were provided for.

CHAP. IV.

Maintenance under the patria potestas. The peculium of its subordinate members.

The peculium of the Cymric innate boneddig.

Sir Henry Maine, in his lectures on Ancient Law many years ago, suggested that the representative ownership of the head of the patria potestas 'must have been co-extensive with a liability to provide for all the members of the brotherhood out of the common fund,' If in the case of slaves under the patria potestas there grew up by degrees the recognition of the peculium, how much more should not something like private property have become recognised in the sons and their descendants!

It is worth while to examine further, in the light of this suggestion, into the question of the da or chattels of the individual tribesmen in Wales.

The fact that the payment of galanas was distributed amongst the kindred in stated proportions shows that they had individual property, probably mostly in cattle, wherewith to make payment.

The fact that in the Denbigh Extent the tunc payable by the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was distributed among the sub-weles and gavells composing it points in the same direction.

The fact that on the marriage of a daughter half a brother's share of the chattels was given with her quaddol confirms the same thing.

Let us follow these chattels given with the wife as her quaddol, and see in what it consisted.

If a man take a wife by gift of kindred and leave her before the end of seven years, let him pay her agweddi to her.2

. . . If she be left after the end of seven years, let there be an equal sharing between them, unless the privilege of the husband entitle him to more.

husband on consummation of her ² That is, return to her the marriage. Dimetian Code, II.

¹ Ancient Laws, p. 145.

agweddi paid by her father to her | viii. 73.

If they be separated by death everything is to be equally CHAP, IV. shared between them.1

In the Venedotian Code the property to be divided is defined as 'everything belonging to them.' 2

The wife is to divide and the husband is to choose of the things which the law shall not share between them.

Certain things were specially named as to be Division given to the husband and certain other things to the between wife.

husband and wife.

The swine to the husband and the sheep to the wife, [or] if there be only one kind they are to be shared.

If there be sheep and goats, the sheep to the husband and the

goats to the wife. . . .

Of the children, two shares to the father and one to the mother: the oldest and youngest to the father and the middlemost to the mother.

The household furniture is to be thus shared.

All the milking vessels except one pail go to the wife.

All the dishes except one dish go to the wife.

The wife is to have the car and the yoke to convey her furniture from the house.

The husband is to have all the drinking vessels.

The husband the riddle, the wife the small sieve.

The husband the upper stone of the quern, the wife the lower.

The clothes that are over them to the wife; the clothes that are under them to the husband . . .

To the husband the kettle, the bed coverlet, the bolster of the dormitory, the coulter, the fuel axe, the auger, the settle, and all the hooks save one.

To the wife the pan, the trivet, the broad axe, the hedge bill, the ploughshare, all the flax, the linseed, the wool, the house bag with its contents except gold and silver (which are to be shared).

If there be webs, they are to be shared.

The yarn balls to the children (if any); if none, then shared.

The husband is to have the barn and all the corn aboveground and underground.

The husband the poultry and one of the cats, the rest to the wife.

The provisions are thus to be shared:

To the wife the meat in the brine and the cheese in the brine; and after they are hung up to the husband.

¹ Gwentian Code, II. xxix.

² Venedotian Code, II. i. 1-6.

CHAP. IV.

To the wife the vessels of butter in cut, the meat in cut, and the cheese in cut.

To the wife as much of the meal as she can carry between her arms and knees from the storeroom into the house.¹

That this description of the sharing belongs to the ordinary married tribesman seems to be clear, as the statement goes on to say:

If the husband be privileged, let him show his privilege before the sharing, and after he shall have obtained his privilege let there be a sharing as we have said above.

This description of the chattels of husband and wife is graphic evidence of individual property in chattels on the part of the ordinary tribesman who has no privilege, *i.e.* is not an uchelwr, or a landed person.

As there is no mention of the cattle which presumably were the main part of the da of the tribesman and of the guaddol of the wife, they were presumably equally divided. The mention of the ploughshare and omission of mention of the oxen wherewith the five free erws of the husband's cyvarwys must have been ploughed, and with which he joined with his fellows in coaration, confirm this conclusion.

The innate boneddig is a dairy farmer.

But whatever may have been the rights in these respects of husband and wife, it is clear that the household of the married tribesman was that of a little dairy farmer with separate homestead, chiefly engaged in making butter and cheese; but with a car and yoke of oxen for carrying and ploughing, with corn crops growing on his five free erws, as well as corn in the bin which, for household use, was

¹ Venedotian Code, II. i.

ground by the quern, or at the chieftain's mill, into CHAP. IV.

And thus his maintenance was not provided by his sharing in a common meal, or receiving doles in money or in kind from the common purse or produce of the kindred, but the result of his own labour and use of the cattle and cyvarwys which was received as his tribesman's right on his coming of age and assuming a tribesman's responsibilities.

It would seem, therefore, that his da and his His cyvarwys were the nest-egg, as it were, of his peculium, the and that he might become rich or poor by his good egg fortune and his thrift or the want of them.

His
cyrarmys
the nest
egg of his
peculium.

Be this as it may, the lesson to be learned is, no The doubt, that the possession of a peculium of private not property in cattle and chattels was not inconsistent with the Welsh tribal system even in the archaic patrices arch fam.

The peculium not inconsistent with the patriarchal family.

There is an example of the same thing under the Hebrew patriarchal system so apt that it may well be used as an illustration.

It occurs in the story of Achan and his stolen wedge of gold, given in Joshua vii.

So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel Example by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken.

And he brought the families of Judah; and he took the family of the Zarhites.

And he brought the family of the Zarhites man by man; and system. Zabdi was taken.

Example under the Hebrew patriarchal system.

Zabdi is the first individual named, and he thus was probably the oldest living ancestor and head of a household (LXX olkos)—i.e. he was the great-

CHAP. IV. grandfather, head of his gwely. What follows, therefore, reveals the interior of the Hebrew household.

And he brought his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, was taken.

Achan, therefore, was the grandson of Zabdi, the chief of the household.

The guilt of Achan was acknowledged.

When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight [i.e. a Greek manch in weight], then I coveted them, and took them; and behold they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it.

Achan, therefore, was a married tribesman with a tent of his own; he was a little farmer with a family of sons and daughters who were great-grandchildren of Zabdi the chief of the household. He possessed also a *peculium* of cattle and chattels.

And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had; and they brought them unto the valley of Achor. . . . And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day.

The wife is not mentioned. She presumably went back to her kindred.

III. THE APPLICATION OF THE GRADES OF KINDRED TO MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRIME.

Each tribesman surrounded by a halo The organised kindreds under the chiefs of kindred and the *gwelys* occupying land forming groups round which metaphorically a ring fence might be drawn,

containing respectively kindred to the ninth and to CHAP, IV. the fourth degree, must not be confounded with of mutual the relations who to the fourth, the seventh and responsibility for the ninth degree, were liable for the saraad and crime. qalanas.

The kindred as a whole was indeed responsible for the crimes of its members to the kindred whose member had been slain or injured. But within the kindred, as we have seen, the payment fell upon the actual slayer and his nearest relations.

Each tribesman is individually the centre of concentric rings of relationship extending to both paternal and maternal relatives within certain degrees, and as he lives and moves amongst his fellow tribesmen he carries, so to speak, around him a halo of responsibility, shading off as the degrees of relationship become more distant. Every tribesman is surrounded by others who are responsible for him in various degrees, and each of whom has his own particular halo of responsibility surrounding him. All within his particular halo are in different degrees liable for his frolics and his crimes, and he is reciprocally liable for each one of theirs in settled proportions.

Thus the whole society is knit together by an infinite number of crossing and intersecting threads of mutual guarantee and liability, from the meshes of which no tribesman can escape.

Even if the tribesman should emigrate beyond the bounds of the district of the kindred or lordship to which he belongs, he does not thereby cut the thread of liability.

CHAP. IV.

Whoever shall pay galanas, if the whole of his kindred be in the same country $(gulat^1)$ with him, full payment is required of him by the end of a fortnight; if the kindred be scattered in several other countries a delay of a fortnight is right in respect to each country.²

This rule, however, does not seem to have prevailed as between the four greater divisions of Wales.

Should an innate boneddig of Powys be in Gwynedd, or one from Gwynedd be in Powys, and become subject to galanas, and his family kindred should not be in the country (gulat) with him, although many relations should, it is right for him to pay galanas, and to bring these along with him... and it shall be shared according to the number of his kindred that may be in the country.³

The liability extended to maternal relations and so bound kindreds together.

The liability has already been mentioned, not only of maternal relations, but also of sisters and female cousins, to assist in the payment of galanas. The result must have been to bind together, not only individuals, but kindreds also, by the ties of a common liability.

At first sight it may seem strange that females should be liable at all, but a moment's consideration will show that it was in harmony with the position of women in other respects under the tribal system. We have seen that the daughter, no less than the son, ceased to be supported by the father on attaining the age of puberty. She, too, had her separate right of maintenance under tribal arrangements, and if she married she was entitled to her *gwaddol*. Rights and obligations generally go together.

Why women paid galanas. And if it be asked why had women this position in the kindred, the answer is not far to seek. It is found in an exceptional case, in which there was no

¹ In the Venedotian Code 'lordship,' arglvydiaeth.

² Gwentian Code, II. viii. 11.

³ Venedotian Code, III. i. 23.

liability, viz. when it had ceased to be possible for a Chap. IV. woman to have children.

A woman does not pay spear-penny, for she has not a spear, but her distaff only, neither do clerks pay it; and a woman does not pay galanas if she make oath that she shall have no more children, neither do clerks pay it: and it is not paid by a boy under fourteen years of age.¹

Another version has it thus:

And females and clerks shall pay it (galanas) unless they deny that they shall ever have children, for they shall pay for their children.

Here, then, is the reason why women had their place in the arrangements of the kindred. It was in right of their children, and because they might have children, that their place in the kindred was reserved. So long as it was possible for them to have children they were necessary links in the chain of consanguinity. Without them the chain would lose its continuity.

The mutual responsibility of kinsmen for saraad and galanas, graduated according to nearness of kin to the murdered man and the criminal, reveals more clearly than anything else the extent to which the individual was bound by innumerable meshes to his fixed place in the tribal community—the extent to which, under the tribal system, individual freedom was sunk in the solidarity of the tribe.

That this solidarity had its origin in the necessities of defence from the wrongs of other and rival kindreds is strongly suggested by the fact that the payment of galanas did not apply within the kindred.

¹ Venedotian Code, III. i. 14.

CHAP. IV.

No galanas within the kindred.
The murderer outlawed.

The murderer of a kinsman had committed a wrong within his kindred. It was not a case for the payment of galanas. The passage from the Gwentian Code has already been quoted which states that the hate of the kindred will follow the murderer who cannot be slain. 'Since the living kin is not killed for the sake of the dead kin, everybody will hate to see him.' As we have seen, he became a kinwrecked man, and fled like an outlaw to seek safety and maintenance as a stranger and a suppliant wherever shelter could be found.

The payment of galanas was therefore a matter between two kindreds. It was accordingly exacted in solemn form, at the time of the Codes, through the territorial lords who were the representatives of civil authority.

The period for galanas is a fortnight after being summoned for each lordship wherein they live, to apportion the payment, and twice that time for exacting the payment and to assemble them to pay it. And every lord is to have the exacting third in his own lordship. At three periods and in three thirds the galanas is to be paid: two periods for the kindred of the father and one for the kindred of the mother; because two thirds fall upon the kindred of the father, and therefore they are to have two periods. At the first period for the kindred of the father to pay one of their thirds, they are to have the oaths of one hundred of the best men of the other kindred, that their relation is forgiven. And at the second period, on their paying their second third, they are also to have the oaths of another hundred men of the other kindred that their relation is forgiven, and those of the best men of the tribe; and at the third period the kindred of the mother are to pay their third; and then they are to have the oaths of a hundred men of the other kindred, that their relation is forgiven; and everlasting concord is to be established on that day, and perpetual amnesty between them.2

Thus the galanas was a judicial arrangement of a

¹ Gwentian Code, II. xxxix. 54.

² Venedotian Code, III. i. 16.

casus belli between kindreds. At the time of the CHAP. IV. Codes it was no longer what it may have been at first, The the subject of bargain between two kindreds. It had galanas become a matter of tribal law. The amount was matter fixed, and the exaction was made by the higher kindreds. judicial authority representing the tribe or nation of the Cymry. There was thus, so to speak, the intervention of a kind of international law and authority superseding the lynch law or blood feud between the kindreds. How early in tribal history this intervention may have existed cannot be known, but, whatever its origin, it added much, doubtless, to the solidarity of tribal society.

IV. THE GRADES OF ARISTOCRACY IN THE KINDRED AS MARKED BY THE 'GALANAS.'

The rules of saraad and galanas not only bear witness to the solidarity of the tribe, they also bear witness to the existence of grades of aristocracy within the tribe, and even within the kindred itself.

They prove that under the tribal system the Tribal structure of society was rather that of aristocratic gradations of gradations of rank than of equality in the modern rank. democratic sense. The Cymric tribes were conquering tribes, treating the conquered or alien races below them as strangers in blood and as belonging to a different race. And a conquering tribe is perhaps hardly likely to recognise equality, even in its own internal relations

Accordingly, even within the tribe and the kindred Men's the value of one man's life was greater than another's. The amount of payment of galanas, i.e. for killing a man, is sometimes spoken of in the Codes as his worth

grades of

CHAP. IV. (querth)—the same word being used for the worth of the brenhin, or head chieftain, as is used for the worth of a cow or a kettle.

The gradations in the galanas thus reveal the grades of worthiness of the several classes in the tribe.

The worth of the brenhin.

Thus, to begin with the *brenhin*, or king. The following is from the Venedotian Code:

The worth of the king is his saraad threefold....
The saraad of the King of Aberffraw is to be paid thus:

A hundred cows from each *cantref* in his dominion and a white bull with red ears to every hundred cows, and a rod of gold equal in length to himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as the nail of a ploughman who has been a ploughman for seven years. Gold is paid only to the King of Aberffraw.

Of others of the royal family and household. The saraad and galanas of the queen were one third that of the king.² The worth of the edling, or designated successor to the brenhin, was also one third of the worth of the brenhin.³ The chief of the brenhin's household, being also a son of his, was likewise of one third the brenhin's worth. The worth of the king's steward was nine score and nine cows—i.e. 189 cows.⁴ The worth of the other royal officers was six score and six cows—i.e. 126 cows.⁵ But the worth of the baking woman and the laundress of the court was only one half of the worth of their brothers.

These officers, even though originally strangers, were free by reason of their office, and their worth (126 cows) seems thus to be the normal worth of the free tribesman.

But setting aside the official class and looking

¹ Venedotian Code, I. ii.

² V.C. iii.

³ *V.C.* I. v.

⁴ V.C. I. vii.

⁵ V.C. I. x. &c.

within the kindreds, even the tribesmen were not all CHAP. IV.

According to the Venedotian Code, the following were the grades of worthiness.¹

The grades of worthiness among tribesmen and strangers.

The chief	of kinds	ed						189 cows.
The uchel	wr.							126 cows.
Man with	a family	v with	out offic	ee .				84 cows.
The innat	e bonede	dig						63 cows.
The alltu	d of the	brenhi	n .					63 cows.
The alltu	d of the	uchelu	r.					31½ cows.
The bonds	man (ca	eth) of	this is	sland,	one	pound	of	
silver. i	.e							4 cows.
The bonds	nan froi	n beyo	nd sea,	1½ lb.	i.e.			6 cows.

The galanas of a woman was half the galanas of her brother,² just as her share in her father's goods (da) was half a brother's share.³

According to the Gwentian Code the grades of payment were virtually the same as those of North Wales, except that the worth of the chief of kindred was 567 cows and that of the members of his family 189 cows.

The Dimetian Code follows the Gwentian Code.

In both the latter Codes the *breyr* takes the place of the *uchelwr* with the same worth, viz. 126 cows.

This worth of the *uchelwr* or *breyr* seems, therefore, to represent the worth of the full or typical free tribesman, whilst that of the mere innate *boneddig* was only one half of it, the same as that of the stranger settled on the chieftain's land, and double that of the stranger on the land of the *uchelwr* or *breyr*.

Thus the youth born into the tribe, who was an

¹ V.C. III. i.

² V.C. II. i. 16.

³ V.C. II. i. 64.

CHAP. IV. innate boneddig, notwithstanding that his blood was pure to the ninth degree—that is to say, that he was the ninth in the line of unbroken descent from Cymric parents-on attaining fourteen, and receiving his cyvarwys, did not jump all at once into complete equality of communal value and rights in a republic whose members were all 'free and equal.' Provision was made, as we have seen, for his maintenance as a member of the kindred, but he was only a subordinate member. His worth was only half that of the uchelwr, and the same as that of the baking woman and laundress of the Court.

> His worth was raised from 63 to 84 cows in North Wales when he became a family man, but he might live and die without becoming an uchelwr.

> Hence the evidence of the rules relating to saraad and galanas, like those of land-occupation, prove that the structure of tribal society was patriarchal and aristocratic and not republican.

The three kinds of men.

Thus several lines of evidence patiently followed have led to the same conclusion. And now at last it becomes easy to understand a statement of the Dimetian Code, which, though at first sight strange and paradoxical, may now be recognised as summing up the whole truth in a nutshell.

There are three kinds of persons—a brenhin, a breyr for uchelwr and a villein, with their aelodeu (i.e. 'relatives,' literally 'members').

Under the tribal system the wele is the unit. The brenkin and the members of his wele form the

D.C. I. v. 8. See also Vene- classes are the brenhin, the gwrda, dotian Code, II. i. 32, where, in and the aillt. reference to the agweddi, the three

royal and ruling class. The breyrs or uchelwrs, heads CHAP. IV. of weles with the innate boneddigs under them, form the second class of free tribesmen. The villeins, or strangers in blood, form the third class; and beneath all these were the caeths, or slaves, who could be bought and sold.

The extraordinary solidarity of the kindreds and The the tribe—a solidarity to which history bears ample solidarity of tribal testimony—was gained at the expense of the free-society. dom and equality of the individual tribesmen. little as the Codes reveal to us of the actual condition of the rank and file of Cymric tribesmen, it is impossible to shut our eves to the easy possibility of oppression on the part of the chieftains and uchelwrs. It is easy to see how, if such was the structure of the Gallic tribes described by Cæsar, his description of tribal society might well be, in measure at least, typical of tribal society generally in its early stages. It might, under the pressure of want on the part of Liability the tribesmen, or the unscrupulous use of power on to oppression. the part of the uchelwrs or higher chieftains, easily come to pass that the mass of tribesmen, with their bare rights of maintenance and a peculium subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, elsewhere than in the Gaul of Cæsar's description might become almost the serfs of the uchelwrs, or, as he describes them,

V. CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT.

the servi of the equites.

There is one other test to which may finally be put the correctness of the conclusion come to on the evidence of the Codes with reference to the subordinate position as regards rights in land and responsiCHAP. IV. bility for crime of the ordinary tribesman in the wele to which he belonged.

The escheats in the Denbigh Extent.

The evidence of the escheats recorded in the Denbigh Extent has been adduced as proof that the landed rights of the weles were mainly undivided rights of occupation and grazing. The escheats in respect of members who died contra pacem were not of specific acres of land, but of fractions of undivided rights.

And, as we have seen, the surveyors could only arrive at the proportion of the lords in respect of these escheats by what was practically a rule-of-three sum. All the escheated fractions in a given villata added together amounted to such and such a proportion of the whole. The acreage of the whole villata was so many acres. The lord's proportion of those acres in respect of the escheats was so and so, and he could, by rough justice, seize upon an area so ascertained, inclose it, and let it out on the English fashion to his own tenants.

The lord claimed a proportion equal to the total of the escheated fractions in a district.

But, this being so, why may it not be said that the fact of a man dying contra pacem, followed by the escheat to the lord of a fractional share in the landed rights of the wele, proves that as a subordinate member of the wele to which he belongs he was already in possession of his proper share in those landed rights, instead of having only his right of maintenance as the Codes seem to imply? How otherwise can it be that a son or a grandson who has not yet 'ascended' to the privilege of his father or grandfather has a share which could escheat? Does not this show that the patriarchal character of the Cymric wele, on which so much stress has been laid, had at least

If a tribesman had only a right of maintenance how could he have a share which could escheat? vanished from actual practice at the time of the CHAP. IV. Extent? And, if so, may it not fairly be doubted whether the system described in the Codes ever was more than an imaginary system, all very well on paper, but never in actual use?

> Extent show that he had a joint share in the land orrightsof the wele !

These questions can only be met fairly by a Does the further examination into the actual facts of the escheats as described in the Extent. This invaluable document will once more prove the safest guide to the true understanding of the Codes.

If, in the case of a death contra pacem, the escheat was of the particular fraction of rights belonging to the individual tribesman so dving, then the Extent must be admitted to be at variance with the Codes and Laws

If, however, on close examination it should be found that the responsibility for the escheats was cast on the wele as a whole, then the evidence of the Extent must be allowed to confirm in a remarkable manner the patriarchal character of the wele as described in the Codes

What are the facts?

Now, if the reader will refer to the summary given above of the wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, he will find that there had been two escheats, viz. :-(1) 1/4 of the gavell of Ken' ap Risshard ap Lauwarghe, i.e. 1/36 of the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, and (2) 5 of the gavell of David ap Kendalo ap Lauwarghe, i.e. 5/36 of the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk.

One-sixth exactly of the mele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk escheat.

Now, the two together make up 6 so that exactly one-sixth of the original wele had escheated to the lord for deaths contra pacem of members of this wele. CHAP. IV.

and apportioned among the tribesmen of the mele.

The natural inference is that one-sixth of the original wele was adjudged after the war to be escheat, and that it was apportioned by arrangement within the kindred in the proportion of $\frac{1}{3\cdot 6}$ to the family of one of the grandsons, and $\frac{5}{3\cdot 6}$ to the family of one of the others; the families of the other four grandsons being free from any part of it. This seems on the face of the figures more likely than that the rights of the individuals who had died contra pacem should have added up to an exact sixth of the whole right of the wele.

The case of the nele of Canon ap Lauwarghe,

Turning next to the summary of the villata of Prees, and taking first the escheats within the *progenies* or *wele* of Canon ap Lauwarghe, we have the following fractions:—

 T_8 of a gavell = $\frac{1}{3}\frac{4}{5}$ of a gavell. $\frac{1}{4}$,, ,, = $\frac{2}{3}\frac{6}{5}$,, ,, ,, $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ gavell = $\frac{2}{3}\frac{6}{5}$,, ,, ,,

Adding these fractions together, the total of the escheats equals $\frac{45}{36}$ of a gavell. Now, as there were $4\frac{1}{2}$ gavells belonging to the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe, $\frac{45}{162}$ or $\frac{10}{36}$ of his wele was escheat.

and the mele of Pythle ap Lauwarghe.

There were 8 weles embraced in the wele of Pythle ap Lauwarghe, of which one whole wele was escheat and $\frac{3}{10}$ of all the other seven, making together $\frac{31}{10}$ of $\frac{1}{8}$, i.e. $\frac{31}{80}$ of the original wele of Pythle.

These were parts of the original nele of their father, and the escheats

These cases do not seem at first sight to be evidence either way; but when it is considered that Canon ap Lauwarghe and Pythle ap Lauwarghe were brothers it becomes obvious that they were sharers in their father's original wele, so that if these fractions of $\frac{10}{36}$ and $\frac{31}{80}$ —which in themselves suggest nothing

-turn out to be divisions of an even fraction of the Chap. IV. whole original wele of Lauwarghe, the father of from the Canon and Pythle, just as in the last case, the two make one-third evidence will confirm the fact of the escheat having of the oribeen thrown on the whole original wele.

Now, $\frac{10}{36}$ of Canon's welle and $\frac{31}{80}$ of Pythle's wele equal 5 and 31 of their father's wele; and, added together, these fractions amounted to $\frac{479}{1440}$ i.e. only $\frac{1}{1440}$ short of one even third of the original wele. The inference consequently must be that after the wars it had been adjudged that onethird of the original wele should be regarded as escheat, and, as a matter of fact, it was impossible to allot this one-third according to the tribal rules as to the responsibility of the families of tribesmen more exactly than was done in the fractions abovementioned.

The same conclusion is arrived at when the internal division is considered. Take the case of the progenies of Pythle. Pythle was presumably dead at the date of the Extent, because his sons are recorded as the heads of weles. One of these sons is dead contra pacem, perhaps without sons, and the whole of his wele is escheat. There are seven other sons' weles to bear their share of the remainder of the escheat. They divide the rest of what falls to Pythle's share equally—i.e. $\frac{3}{10}$ of their rights are given up as escheat by each of the seven. How is it possible that exactly $\frac{3}{10}$ of the members of each of The these weles had died contra pacem? They are eviliability for deaths dently sharing a common liability which had fallen contra upon the original wele to which they belonged.

So far, therefore, from the evidence of the charged on the

pacem was

original wele as a whole.

The individual tribesmen were therefore treated as members of a patria potestas and not as jointowners

CHAP. IV. escheats of the Denbigh Extent clashing with that of the Codes as to the patriarchal character of the weles, it seems to confirm it in a remarkable manner, and to show that even so late as the conquest of North Wales the ordinary free tribesman of the Denbigh district was not treated as an individual owner of a fractional share in the landed rights of his family, but as a subordinate member of a wele, whose head was responsible in his representative character for the misdeeds of all his descendants to the fourth degree of descent.



CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION TO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN BLOOD.

I. THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF STRANGERS.

A good deal has already been said with regard to CHAP. V. the relations to the tribe of the strangers in blood.

If blood relationship was the tie which bound the Want of kindreds of tribesmen together, and if the want of secret of Cymric blood made the gulf between the tribesmen and strangers in blood, the refusal to recognise any position. efficient blood relationship as between strangers was the key to their legal condition under the tribal system. It was as though the tribesman was so conscious of the strength of the tie of his own blood relationship that he was blind to any other but his Or possibly his knowledge of the strength of that tie made him dread the growth of a similar tie amongst others of alien blood.

It is significant that the ties which were recognised, and even encouraged within cautious limits, were those which bound the stranger to the tribesman, and not those which would bind him to his fellow stranger. And no doubt from the point of view of the tribal system there was political wisdom in the instinct which set itself against what would help the non-

stranger's

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Снар, V.

tribesmen to organise themselves into a too powerful subject tribe.

Each stranger under a lord. Under Welsh tribal custom each stranger was individually subject to some Cymric superior and protector, who might, or might not, as we shall see, have proprietary rights over him. A tie of some kind always was formed between him and his Cymric superior, but, whatever it might be, it did not necessarily imply anything in the nature of bondage or serfdom, however easily it might grow into it.

He was not therefore a serf. Even if something like the relation of lordship and serfdom ultimately grew out of it, as the phraseology of the surveys would suggest had been the case, still, before we can understand its nature we must examine how it arose under the tribal system and by what tribal rules it was regulated. It is the more necessary to examine this point carefully, as it may possibly help to throw some light upon the origin and original nature of manorial serfdom.

The surveys have already made us familiar with the hamlets of so-called villein or bond tenants, holding under what the 'Record of Carnarvon' describes as a tenure of the nature of *trefgevery*.

Placed in a maertref, or taeogtref, in 'trefgevery,' without rights of inheritance;

These tenants are described in the Codes as taeogs, or aillts, and they are sometimes located on the maertref of the Prince, and sometimes in taeog-trefs, i.e. in separate trefs, and not mixed up with the tribesmen.

Further, the description in the Codes of the nature of their tenure (which has already been quoted) was found to correspond with the description given in the 'Record of Carnarvon' of land held in *trefgevery*.

The peculiar point about these taeog-trefs was,

it will be remembered, the joint responsibility of the CHAP. V. taeogs in each tref, or hamlet, for the services, or payments in lieu of them. In some cases on the manor of Aberffraw they seemed to be arranged in groups of nine, probably for this purpose.

The peculiar feature of the taeog-tref as described but with in the Codes was the entire absence of any rights of inheritance, all the taeogs sharing equally in the land, sons having separate tyddyns during the lifetime of their fathers, and sharing equally along with the rest, excepting the youngest son, who remained with his father and succeeded to his tyddyn on his death.

of rights.

The equality was carried so far as to provide that no one could commence the co-ploughing until every taeog in the tref had found a place for his oxen in the common ploughs.1

Recognising that this peculiar kind of tenure was This was the natural result of carrying out the tribal prin-thetypical tenure for ciple that there was no true kinship and inheritance strangers in blood. among strangers in blood, it becomes obvious that it was the typical kind of tenure for non-tribesmen, and this was so whether they were settled in the maertref of the Brenhin, or Prince, or in separate taeog-trefs under the regulation of his maer and canghellor, or scattered over the cantrefs and cymwds under subordinate chieftains or uchelurs. In all cases, as a normal rule, non-tribesmen were placed in regulated trefs, of tir cyfrif, held in trefgevery.

The ordinary class of taeogs, or aillts, born on the land, whose ancestors had been on the land from generation to generation, to whom the bridge of

Easily described as nativi.

successive marriages with women of Cymric blood was shut out by the humility of their position, who were therefore in North Wales taeogs for ever, and in South Wales waiting for the ninth generation before there was any chance of rising into a higher status—these hereditary taeogs, or aillts, would naturally be described by the makers of the surveys as nativi and bond tenants.

And it was perfectly natural that new comers, strangers in blood, seeking protection and settlement, should, as a rule, be placed in such a *taeog-tref* and become *nativi* like the rest.

but not all treated alike.

But further examination very soon makes it clear that all strangers and new comers were not treated alike.

Without entering into the question of terminology and the difference between *aillts* and *taeogs* and other strangers in blood, it can readily be seen that the new comers might belong to different classes.¹

The kinbroken tribesman Take the case of the car-shattered or kin-broken tribesman. For some reason or other he had to leave his kindred. The cause of his leaving might well determine his position in the place where he sought his new home.

If driven by necessity like the 'Prodigal Son' in the parable to take a menial position, to join himself to an *uchelwr*, he would naturally be placed to work in a *taeog-tref*. He might well be contented to perform the services of a *taeog* in return for

¹ Generally the *aillt* of the Venedotian Code seems to correspond with the *taeog* of the others, but not in every case. 'Alltud' simply means 'stranger.'

protection and maintenance. He might thus natu- CHAP. V. rally drop into the position of an aillt or a taeog.

The word aillt is believed to mean 'a shaven or easily betonsured person.' The tonsure was indicative of service, and his submission to it would be the outward sign that he had become the 'sworn man' of his protector.

came an aillt by tonsure,

Such might well be the experience of any stranger in humble or abject circumstances, driven by necessity to seek protection. The following passage couples with the 'kin-broken' man, the illegitimate son disowned by the kin, and the stranger seeking a home in Cymru:-

'Strangers and their progeny are adjudged to be aillts, and also the reputed son. . . . and evil-doers, till the end of the ninth descent.

'And every aillt and taeog is required to be a sworn man, and appraised to the lord of the territory, and to his proprietary lord, i.e. the lord who shall take him under his protection, and grant him land in a taeog-trev. And an aillt is to be at the will and pleasure of such until he shall attain the descent and privilege of an innate Cymro, and that is to be attained by the fourth descendant of his issue by legitimate marriages with innate Cumraeses,' 2

In this passage from the Triads, which obviously and was refers to South Wales, the new comers are all de-placed in a taeog-tref. scribed as located in taeog-trefs. And if it stood alone we might assume that admission into the taeogtref was the only recognised mode of dealing with strangers in blood.

¹ Aillt means in old Welsh shaven or tonsured, the verb being in modern Welsh eillio (to shave), Irish altan (a razor). In Manx inney-veayl is a word for bond-woman (as in the case of

Hagar, in the Biblical story), and it literally means the 'bald or cropped girl.' I am indebted to my friend Professor Rhys for this information.

² W.L. XIII. ii. 67.

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Some favoured strangers placed on land and grow into tribesmen. But from other passages it is clear that there were classes of strangers, probably in better circumstances, who were not thus placed once for all in a taeog-tref to take their chance as ordinary taeogs. These new comers were placed upon portions of the Brenhin's or uchelwr's waste to work themselves or their descendants in the fourth degree into the position of tenants adscripti glebæ, holding in kindreds and families, but still without the privilege of tribesmen. There is a passage which throws a flood of light into the question of the position, under the tribal system, of this class of strangers. Possibly it refers only to alltuds in the strict meaning of the term, but it shows how tribal principles and tribal analogies were applied to such cases.

'If an alltud [stranger] become a man to an uchelwr, and be with him until death; and the son of the alltud be with the son of the uchelwr, and the grandson of the alltud with the grandson of the uchelwr, and the great-grandson of the alltud with the great-grandson of the uchelwr will be a priodawr over the great-grandson of the alltud, and his heirs [will be] priodorion of the heirs of that grandson for ever, and, thenceforth, they are not to go to the country whence they are derived, away from their proprietary lords, on account of their having lost the time when they were to go if they willed to go.' 1

Remaining four generations, they become adscripti glebæ, and subject to family proprietorship.

This passage shows that the tribal rule that proprietorship in land was not attained till the occupation had continued till the fourth generation, was applied also to a lord's proprietorship of an alltud. If the alltud and his descendants remained on the land of the uchelwr for four generations, the great-grandchildren of the alltud became adscriptinglebæ for ever after. And so complete was the

¹ W.L. V. ii. 126 (middle 14th century).

proprietorship thus established that it had become CHAP. V. subject to the law of family possession under the further application of tribal rules; so that a father could not free the stranger for longer than his own life without his son's consent.

'No one can liberate an alltud, except during his own life, except by his departure to his own country, and although he may liberate him in his day, the claim will be fresh for the son, after his father, when he shall be minded to claim.'1

But there is another important inference to be drawn from the passage first quoted, viz. that any time before the fourth generation the alltud and his descendants could leave the uchelur's service if they pleased.

Accordingly in another passage it is expressly stated that the alltud could avoid coming under permanent proprietorship by removal at intervals from one uchelwr to another.

' If an alltud when he comes from his country become a man to an uchelwr, and from him go to another, and he proceed, and his son after him, and his grandson, and his great-grandson, and his goresgynydd, from one uchelwr to another, without settling in any place more than another, let them be under the privilege of alltuds so long as they shall be thus without settling.'2

These passages make no special mention of any separate location on land. They may be of later date than the Codes. But the following passage from the Venedotian Code deals directly with the case of alltuds located on land, and it shows that they were dealt with on the same tribal principles.

It explains the acquisition by the alltud or his descendants of the privilege of permanent occupation

¹ W.L. V. ii. 95.

CHAP. V. of land, if they shall have occupied the same land under an uchelwr till the fourth generation. And it also explains that at the same moment in which the fourth man becomes a priodawr, he also becomes subject to the proprietorship of the uchelwr, and thenceforth practically adscriptus glebæ.

'And as the alltuds of the King become priodorion in the fourth man after they shall have been placed on the King's waste, so also the alltuds of the uchelwrs become priodorion in the fourth man if they have occupied the same land under them for so long a time, and from thenceforth they are not to go from the uchelwrs, for they are priodorion under them, and they are not to take their propriety, one from the land from whence they originate, and another here.

'After they are become *priodorion*, their tyddyns on the land, and land to them also they are to have, and their land, excepting such, to be arable among them.' ¹

It is further added:—

'If the alltuds will go away from their lords before they become priodorion, they are to leave half their goods to them.' 2

thus confirming the point of their freedom to move as they pleased till the fourth generation.

These strangers acquire ultimately rights of inheritance. Whether the first passage quoted might apply or not to strangers placed in taeog-trefs of 'register land,' it is clear that the last quoted passage deals with quite another class, i.e. with immigrants of a much higher position. These immigrants are strangers in blood. They are placed on the waste of a prince or an uchelwr apparently in groups, each with his separate tyddyn, and a few erws in croft around it occupied in severalty, and with other land held in common by the group which was to be arable among them cultivated by the co-aration of their common plough-teams. The great-grandchildren of

¹ Venedotian Code, II. xvi. 21.

the original alltuds become priodorion, and are dis- CHAP. V. tinguished from taeogs holding in trefgevery.

> Their kindreds are recognised but they do not become tribesmen. They are on terra nativa, and they adscripti

But it must not be imagined that in becoming proprietors they also became Cymric tribesmen. from it. It is true that the word priodawr is applied to them as it is to tribesmen, but instead of being, like the tribesmen, proprietors of tribal rights, they become proprietors on what in the Extents is called The fact seems to be that at the terra nativa. moment when, from unbroken residence for four generations, recognition of the rights of kindred was gleba. at last conceded, instead of its establishing kinship to the tribe and making them Cymry, it confirmed their subordinate position and deprived them of their freedom of departure from the land for ever.

This process of final recognition of kindred in the families of strangers is thus strictly consistent with tribal policy.

It must not be confused with the exceptional bridges across the gulf between tribesmen and nontribesmen allowed in South Wales.

The families of these favoured strangers, whose rights of kindred were recognised, remained permanently non-tribesmen, and it is interesting to observe that notwithstanding this the tribal rules as to grades of kinship were recognised as applying to them. At the fourth generation the recognition of kindred began, and the descendant of the original They alltud became an alltud of a kindred. But the become entitled to kindred was not a perfect one till the 'alltud of a kindred 'had himself great-grandchildren.

'If there be an alltud of a kindred he is entitled to a raith as kinsmen. upon a Cymro. An alltud of a kindred is an alltud whose parents

a raith, or the protection of the oaths their

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have been in Cymru until there have arisen brothers, cousins, second cousins and third cousins, and nephews to each of those.

'They are not thenceforth to go to the country from whence they originated, because they are a kindred; and there is no person of a kindred who is not entitled to have a raith adjudged to him, and that number of persons form a kindred; and there is no one who has not been primarily an advenient man; and all ultimately become proprietors and form kindreds if they continue in Cymru until the fourth descent.'

This passage brings into view another consequence of the recognition of kindred in the case of *alltuds*—another point in which the tribal system was consistent with itself.

One of the rights of the innate Cymro was protection by *raith* of his kindred—the right to call upon his kindred to protect him by their oath.

So long as the *alltud* was without recognition of kindred his oath was not recognised as of full value, because he had no kindred who could swear for him.

'Alltud bondmen can be sold by their lord and given by law, and amends are not to be made for them if they be unlawfully killed, because they have no kindred who can demand it.' ²

But free alltuds had a worth or galanas, as we have seen. And so soon as they attained the privilege of kindred, their kindred could claim it, and the oaths or raith of a kindred had to be recognised.

There is a passage which seems to meet the difficulty of want of numbers in the *alltud's* newlyacquired kindred. He was still not a Cymro, and he had no right to call upon any but his kindred to be compurgators with him.

What, then, was he to do if in any case more

And the want of numbers of kinsmen was met artificially.

¹ W.L. V. ii. 144. ² W.L. XI. ii. 2.

³ W.L. XIII. ii. 112.

oaths were required than he had kinsmen to swear for him? This was a difficulty which had to be met. And it seems to have been met by a kind of legal fiction.

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'There is to be no rejection of the raith of an alltud when a raith of the country does not pertain to him, although persons shall not swear along with him; for let him give his own oath repeatedly for so many persons as ought to swear along with him if he were of a kindred.' 1

Thus it appears that tribal custom recognised not only kindred, but also the consequence of kindred, in the case of the favoured alltuds, who, through residence for four generations on a lord's land, had become adscripti glebæ. But it also appears that the recognition of kindred among themselves, instead of making them Cymry, left them in such a legal position as to justify the Norman lawyers and surveyors calling them nativi, although, like the tribesmen, they were allowed to form gwelys instead of living under the normal tenure of the nature of trefgevery.

This explains how we come to find in the Extents The meles of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh, in the nativi living in weles like the free tribesmen. Occasionally in the Record of Carnarvon groups of nativi, instead of holding in trefgevery, are spoken of as holding by a tenure of the nature of treveloge—i.e. in weles with the rights of inheritance which follow the recognition of kindred.2

of nativi

In the Denbigh Extent the prevalence of weles of nativi is very general. And this is entirely consistent with the Venedotian Code under which, whilst rights of kindred were recognised at the

¹ D.C. II. xvii. 46.

² Record of Carnaryon, p. 2. Bodscathlan. 'Eadem villa est de

natura de Troweloge, et sunt in eadem villa duo Wele nativa, &c.'

CHAP. V. fourth generation, no bridge was allowed across the gulf which separated the stranger from the Cymro, except in the case of officials of the Court who were enfranchised by reason of their office.

Enfranchisement of *neles* of *nativi* after the conquest.

It was not, apparently, till after the conquest that any general enfranchisement took place. And when it did take place the following example shows that it took the form of enfranchisement of the whole wele of nativi, and not of individuals only.

In the case of this example of a *gwely* of *nativi* it is curious to notice that they are still described as holding 'under the condition of trefgevery.'

Example of the enfranchisement of a wele.

'This indenture, made between the venerable Father, Lord John. by grace of God, Bishop of St. Asaph, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph, of the one part, and the proprietarii et coheredes of that lectum called Gwely Gwarthhoet, in the Villa of Bryngwyn, of the other part, witnesseth that whereas the aforesaid proprietarii et coheredes have ever before this time been called nativi and have held their lands and tenements there under the condition of Trefgyfrif, the aforesaid venerable Father, the Dean and Chapter, for themselves and their successors, at the entreaty of the aforesaid proprietarii et coheredes, have liberated both them and their heirs and their lands and tenements from that condition henceforth, and have exonerated them for ever, and have made them in all things of the same condition as the proprietarii et coheredes of that lectum called Gwely Ithelwr being in the same villa, so that the aforesaid proprietarii et coheredes of the aforesaid lectum called Gwely Gwarthhoet, and their heirs in future for ever shall pay to the lord . . . marks of annual rent on the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James for having this concession, whereas before they have been wont to pay five shillings of this rent on the feast aforesaid. In witness whereof the aforesaid parties have respectively placed their seals to this Indenture with these witnesses. Robert ap Gruffud, at that time Raglot of the Lord Bishop, Lewelyn ap Madoc Loyt, then steward of the same; Eden Moel ap Bleth Duy, then Ringildre at the same place; Eynon ap Ken ap Bleth . . . and many others.

'Given at St. Asaph on the Lord's Day next after the Feast of

St. Michael the Archangel, A.D. 1355.' 1

¹ For the Latin of this document, which is in the possession | see Appendix E.

II. THE LINK OF FOSTERAGE BETWEEN TRIBESMEN AND NON-TRIBESMEN.

That the custom of placing strangers upon the CHAP. V. waste until their successors became proprietors in the The fourth man was one common to all three of the Welsh divisions is clear from the following statements of the Codes. They are useful, also, in showing how the Venedotian uchelwr and his aillt corresponded with the Dimetian and Gwentian breyr and his They further show that not only was it a common thing for aillts and taeogs to be placed upon waste land, and to become proprietors, but also that where such was the case uchelwrs or breyrs placed their sons with them to foster.

chiefs and uchelmrs their sons with aillts to foster

i. p. 195. Venedotian Code.

If an uchelwr place his son to be reared with an aillt of a lord, by the permission or sufferance of the lord, for a year and a day, that son is to have a son's share of the aillt's land, and, ultimately, of his property.

i. p. 543. Dimetian.

If the taeog of the King take the son of a brevr to foster (ar vaeth), with the King's permission, such a foster son is to participate in the inheritance of the taeog, like one of his own sons. -Dewi of Brevi.

i. p. 767. Gwentian.

If a taeog take the son of a breyr to foster, with the permission of the lord, such a son is to participate in the patrimony of the taeog, like one of his own sons.

These facts, taken together, are additional proof of Importthe anxiety to secure the loyalty of the best class of ance of fosterage strangers in blood. In the case of these favoured under the strangers not only was intermarriage with innate system. Cymraeses allowed in South Wales with consent of the kindreds, and not only were they supplied with land from the waste, and allowed to become proprietors in the fourth man, but further the sons of their lords

Chap. V. were placed with them to be fostered, and thereby as foster-sons to share with their foster-brothers in the foster-father's inheritance if he had attained to the position of a proprietor.

Giraldus Cambrensis complains that the tie of friendship between foster-brothers was often stronger than the tie of natural kinship between brothers. was thus that fosterage became so important an incident in the tribal system in Celtic as well as in other countries. It was one of the several means used under the tribal system for the purpose of tying strangers as tightly as possible to the tribe, quite consistently with the tribal policy of keeping the class of strangers in blood as loosely organised as possible inter se.

III. FURTHER EVIDENCE FROM 'CELTIC SCOTLAND.'

Various kinds of nativi in Scotland.

The resemblance between ancient Celtic custom in Wales and in Scotland, as regards strangers in blood and the stages and methods by which something like serfdom grew out of it, is too marked to be passed by without reference here.

In Celtic Scotland, as in Wales, there were socalled nativi or bondmen of various kinds and different origin.

There is a remarkable passage in the fragments of laws printed under the heading Quoniam attachiamenta—De brevi de nativis, which may be translated as follows:--

- 'There are different kinds of nativi or bond-men.
- 'For some are nativi, de avo et proavo, which is vulgarly

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i. p. 655 (red paging), 291 (black do.).

called de evo et trevo, whom he (the lord) will claim to be his nativi naturally, by beginning to narrate their ancestors, if their names are known, to wit, of his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father, who are convicted by his saying that they all are his nativi in such and such a villa of his, and in a certain place within the said villa on servile land, and that they rendered and did to him and his ancestors servile service for many days and years, and this "nativitas," or bondage, can be proved through the parents of the convicted one, if they are alive, or per bonam assisam.

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Natiri
whose
greatgrandfathers
were so.

'Likewise, there is another kind of bondage, similar to this, where some stranger shall have taken some servile land from some lord doing servile service for the same land, and if he die on the same land, and his son likewise, and afterwards his son shall have lived and died on the same land, then all his posterity [i.e. his great-grandsons] shall be at the fourth grade altogether in servile condition to his lord, and his whole posterity can be proved in the same way.

Settlement on servile land for four generations makes posterity nativi.

become natiri by tonsure.

'There is a third kind of nativitas, or bondage, where some freeman, pro dominio habendo vel manutenencia i.e. for protection or maintenance] from some magnate, gives himself up to that lord as his nativus or bondman in his court by the front hair of his head (per crines anteriores capitis sui).'

It is not necessary to do more than point out how remarkably the three clauses of this passage coincide with the Welsh evidence that under Celtic custom occupation by strangers in blood of land under a lord for four generations made the greatgrandchildren of strangers, who up to that time had been free to leave as they liked, into a family whose posterity were ever after adscripti glebæ. They show how in Scotland the hereditary tagog or nativus was distinguished from the new comer who in open court became the nativus of his lord, per crines anteriores capitis sui. Whether these words mean tonsure and so connect the Scotch nativus with the aillt or tonsured person of the Welsh codes may be doubted. But tribal touches in what otherwise might be regarded as feudal definitions of serfdom seem to

CHAP. V. These distinctions are those of Celtic custom.

suggest connecting links between tribal and feudal custom.

Mr. Skene, in his chapter on 'The Tribe in Scotland,' remarks with reference to the passages above quoted as follows :-

'These definitions of the different kinds of nativi or bondmen may, no doubt, apply to a later period, and be more or less connected with feudal forms, but we may notwithstanding infer that they preserve the characteristics of the servile class in Celtic times; for although the upper classes may in the Lowland districts have been superseded by Saxon or Norman proprietors holding their lands in feudal tenure, the servile occupiers of the soil, of Celtic race, who were attached to the land, would remain and become the villeins of the feudal lord; and so we find that wherever they appear in the Chartularies they possess Celtic names.'1

i.e. custom of ancient Cumbria.

Thus the evidence of the transition from tribal to feudal forms in this respect comes from the two extreme ends, as it were of the ancient Cumbria, and it is not the less interesting on that account.

IV. THE RECEPTION INTO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN SOUTH WALES.

Strangers in blood became adscriptigleba.

It has been shown that the recognition of kindred in the case of strangers in blood after residence for four generations on the land of a chieftain or uchelwr, so far from making them free tribesmen,

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 221, 222. Upon the question of tonsure see Du Cange, sub voce 'Capilli.'

tied them all the more permanently to the land, so CHAP. V. that they became adscripti glebæ, or nativi.

This applied, according to the evidence of Codes and traditions, both in the northern Cumbria, from which Wales had long been severed, and in Wales itself.

In South Wales, however, the rule was subject to Excepcarefully guarded exceptions.

tion in South Wales.

The fact has several times been alluded to that in South Wales the attainment of the position of a free tribesman was possible by residence in Cymru for nine generations, and could be hastened by repeated intermarriages with 'innate Cymraeses.'

It may be worth while, before passing from the subject of strangers in blood, to quote one more passage from the Welsh Laws describing this process and having particular regard to the rights to which the stranger attained on becoming a tribesman.1

Where it was possible for strangers to become tribesmen.

'This is the mode of regulating those marriages—to wit, the son of an aillt, being a sworn man to the lord of the territory who shall marry an innate Cymraes with the consent of her kindred, is, by that marriage, in the privilege of the second degree of kin and descent; to their children attaches the privilege of the third degree; and one of those children, by intermarrying with a Cymraes of legitimate blood, assumes the fourth degree; a son by that marriage stands in the privilege of the fifth degree, and he is the grandchild of the original aillt2; and that son, by intermarrying with an innate Cymraes, arises to the privilege of the sixth degree of kin, and a son by that marriage or a great-grandson of the original aillt is of the seventh degree, and by intermarrying with an innate Cymraes attains to the eighth degree under the privilege of his wife, for it is the privilege of every innate Cymraes to advance a degree for her aillt husband with whom she shall intermarry; and the son of this great-grandson by such marriage attains to the privilege of the ninth descent; and therefore he is called a seisor (goresgynydd).'

The process by intermarriages.

¹ Welsh Laws, XIII. ii. 67.

² I.e. the aillt who first marries a Cymraes.

CHAP. V.

What did the stranger attain to on becoming a tribesman? He got his cyvarnys and became

chief of

a new kindred. It is important to notice why he is so called, and what it is that he attains to:—

'For he seizes (goresgyn) his land (tir) or his fruition of five free erws and his cyvarwys and privilege of chief of kindred and every other social right due to an innate Cymro.'

That is to say, he becomes a *priodawr*, or tribesman, with right to location upon land and a *cyvarwys*. Further, as he begins a new kindred, so also he becomes its *Chief of Kindred*.

'And he becomes the stock of a kindred, or he stands in the privilege of chief of kindred to his progeny, and likewise to his seniors; for such of them as may be living, as father or grandfather or great-grandfather, and not further, obtain in their seisor the privilege of innate Cymry. And he is not in law called the son of his father in suits for land, but his seisor; and he is a seisor to his grandfather and also a seisor to his great-grandfather and a seisor to his uncles, and his cousins, and his second cousins, when they, one or other, shall descend from legitimate marriages.

'And the seisor becomes chief of kindred to them all after arriving at the full age of manhood; and every one of them is a man and kin (gwr a char) to him, and his word is paramount over

them one and all'

It would seem, however, that though in this sense the new tribesman ennobled his ancestors and relations so that their blood relationship to him could be recognised, yet they do not thereby all at once become tribesmen with a right to location on land and cyvarwys as he has done.

'Although they approach the kindred of the seisor and possess their privileges free under the protection and privilege of their chief of kindred, they obtain not their lands (ni chafant eu tirodd) except those who individually attain the degree or privilege of the ninth descent—that is, of seisor (goresgynedd).'

There seems to be in these statements confirmation of the facts before alluded to as characteristic of the structure of the Cymric tribal society, not only as regards the tenacity with which the tribal CHAP. V. rules of kinship were carried out and applied to the entrance of strangers into the tribe, but also as regards the character of the normal right of the tribesman. The normal right, whether of the innate boneddig born into the tribe, or of the stranger in blood on first becoming a tribesman, was not an equal share in certain tribe land, but the right of maintenance—the fruition of five free erws and

whatever else was included in his cyvarwys.



CHAPTER VI.

CHIEFTAINSHIP IN THE TRIBE.

I. THE GRADES OF CHIEFTAINSHIP.

CHAP. VI. THE fact that the tribe was complex, that it contained besides the kindreds of tribesmen various classes of strangers in blood, combined with the fact of the existence of territorial lordships, naturally gave a dual character to the matter of chieftainship.

From the strictly tribal point of view, the principle of blood relationship might work itself out simply enough.

Tribal gradations of chieftainship. Beginning with the chief of the wele, who was the head of a patriarchal family of kin within the fourth degree of descent, it was a perfectly natural tribal step upwards to the chief of kindred, under whose rule the many households included within the kinship to the ninth degree were bound together into an organised kindred. It was but another perfectly natural step to bind the several kindreds together under the higher chieftain of the larger kindred of the tribe.

But, side by side with this strictly tribal view of the gradations of chieftainship, the Welsh Codes show that there had grown up what, from another point of view, look like similar gradations of territorial lord- CHAP. VI. ship. The tribal system had evidently found room Gradafor the growing power and jurisdiction of a hierarchy tions of territorial of territorial chieftains, very nearly resembling feudal lordships. lords, holding courts with legal jurisdiction, and possessed of landed estates in Norman eves not to be distinguished from manors, on which were settled various classes of tenants which, to Norman eyes, seemed more or less like the different grades of villani on English manors. Some of them, as we have seen, were aillts and taeogs, living in 'registered' or taeog trefs; whilst others were specially located on the lord's waste and growing up into kindreds with or without tribal rights.

Thus it would be easy, using words with a conventional meaning, to describe the two principles or influences working side by side in later tribal society (and perhaps from the first) as tribal and feudal.

But by doing so some danger might be run of These not falling into the error of begging the question at issue. necessarily of The real question is whether these so-called feudal feudal origin. tendencies were the result of outside feudal influences upon the tribal system, or whether what we call the feudal system in Western Europe may not, itself, turn out to have been in part the result of tendencies engrained in the very nature of tribal society and thus underlying the conditions out of which feudalism

Recurring to the condition of things described in the Codes, there seems in one sense to have been quite a hierarchy of chieftains.

grew.

There was the brenhin, or King, of Aberffraw, The whose chieftainship extended over all Cymru. But. brenhin.

CHAP. VI. under the Codes, Gwent and Dimetia each had its brenhin, subordinate, however, to the brenhin of Aberfraw. And each cantref or cymwd had also its chieftain who held courts and had legal jurisdiction of some kind among uchelwrs and breyrs who, themselves, were heads of kindreds or households, and in some sense petty chieftains with the privilege attached to proprietorship of land.

All this looks at first sight very territorial. And it also was ancient. For

'When Howel the Good, brenhin of Cymru, modified the laws of Cymru, he permitted various privileges to various persons in his kingdom, . . . and likewise he permitted every chief (pennaeth) to whom there might belong a cymwd, or cantref, or more, to hold a daily royal court of privileged officers, in number as he should deem proper, in a similar manner to himself, and privilege to hold a royal court of pleas in his country among his uchelwrs. . . . And he permitted every uchelwr to hold his own land according to its privilege, and to rule his bondmen according to conditional bondage in South Wales, and perpetual bondage in Gwynedd.' 1

He reserved to himself, however, all suits pertaining to his crown as *brenhin* and to his relations (aelodeu)—i.e. members of his royal family.²

The words used in various passages in the Codes for the gradations of chieftainship are instructive and indicative of tribal origin.

Sometime toisech used for brenhin.

In the preface to the Venedotian Code, Howel the Good is in some of the MSS. called the tewysauc (i.e. toisech) of all Cymru; and it goes on to say that he summoned six men from each cymwd in his kingdom (tehuysokaet). Very shortly afterwards it is stated that 'the saraad of the King (brenhin) of Aberffraw is

¹ W.L. X. xiii. 1.

² Id. reading d. 37.

to be paid thus: a hundred cows for each cantref in CHAP. VI. his dominion (argluydyaet).'1

In the last passage the brenhin has authority over And an argluydyaet, the words king and lord being practitimes cally interchanged. In the first passage the king or argluyd, terrysauc (toisech) has authority over a tehuysokaet. These terms, in their Gaelic form, were used in Ireland and went back, according to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' to early Irish tribal tradition; for it was the mythic Ollamh Fodla (who flourished, it is said, twelve centuries B.C.) who appointed a toisech over every tuath in Ireland.2

In the preface to the Dimetian Code the word used for the prince is brenhin, and in one MS. tywyssauc, and his kingdom is called a teyrnnas (the same word as the Irish tigernas), the dominion of a teyrn or tigerna, or house-lord. In a further clause in the and same Code, Howel is said to be accompanied by the times teyrnedd or tigerns of Cymru in his visit to Rome, thus making a distinction between the brenkin or head king and the tigerns or subordinate kings.3

In another passage of less authority, dealing with the federate country of all Cymru, the same distinction is made between the head king or brenhin penraith of all Cymru and the subordinate tywysawgs or toisechs under him,4 who, however, were themselves paramount in their own territories. And this brenhin penraith is said to be the hynar (eldest, most ancient,

¹ V.C. I. ii.

² Skene's Celtic Scotland, iii. p. 156. The word Toisech occurs also in the entries in the margin of the 'Book of Deer,' and means 'first man,' or 'head man.' See

Windisch ' Wörterbuch,' sub voce Tussech.

³ D.C. preface.

⁴ W.L. XIII. ii. 64.

⁵ Pugh.

CHAP. VI. or ancestor), i.e. the head of the royal or ruling family.

The distinction between the head chieftainship of Aberffraw and the sub-chieftains of the other divisions is maintained in the same way but with different words in another passage:

Under chieftains mactigerns or iarlls.

'Three mechdeyrn rule all the gwladychu of Cymru, the brenin of Aberffraw, and the arglwydd of Dinefwr (in Dimetia), and the arglwydd of Mathrafal (in Powys).'

Here again the chief of Aberffraw alone is brenhin.

In the next sentence all these are called teyrn, and their teyrnas is said to be thus divided into three parts (rhan), but Aberffraw is said to have supremacy over the other two. 'And there are three yeirll (iarlls)² under it (Aberffraw), viz. of Caerllion (Gwent), of Dinefwr (Dimetia), and of Mathrafal (Powys).'

Here the distinction is between the *brenhin* and the subordinate *iarlls*. And there is another passage which states that when, according to the legend, *Maelgwn* became supreme king (*brenhin pennaf*) with Aberffraw for his principal court, the status of the lords of Powys, Dimetia, and Gwent became that of under-chieftains or *iarlls*.³

Why, then, it may be asked, are all the chieftains, including Aberffraw, called in the passage above quoted mechdeyrn? The word is translated vicegerent, and in its etymology it betrays again a tribal source. Like the Latin dominus, the word tigerna means the head of the house. And whether the word mechdeyrn

¹ W.L. XIV. iv.

³ W.L. V. ii. 1.

³ *Id*.

originally meant the sons of the 'tigerna' or CHAP. V. whether the prefix had another derivation than son; in either case the connection with the idea of the household is maintained. In Irish the word octhigernd means literally the young tigerns, but it is used also for a sub-tigern. Both words suggest that the sub-chieftains were the younger members of the ruling family, of which the head king was the hynaf younger or elder. As in older days the brenhin of Aberffraw chiefwas in a sense a subordinate king paying tribute to the king of Lloegyr, from this point of view he was a mechdeyrn.

mactigerns

Another passage states that:-

'Three mechdeyrn dues arise from all Cymry. To Aberffraw from the other two: (1) from Dineywr four tunell of honey, each containing four mu, two grenneit in each mu, each grenn a load (llwyth) for two men on a pole; flour from Gwynva (Powys) in the same manner.

'Three score and three pounds the King of Aberffraw should pay to the King (brenhin) of Lloegyr; then he was called King of London, for there were many kings (brenhinedd) formerly in Lloegyr.'2

All this may be confused tradition, but Cæsar himself testified to the number of kings in Britain, so that there is every reason to believe that the tradition of a head chieftain, of whom the Welsh chieftains were under-chieftains, may not be devoid of truth.

yuyet = youths. And cf. Vortigern = Gwr-theyrn, which was both Goidelic and Cymric, and means probably the supreme lord = Gor-tigern.

¹ If Cymric, the prefix should be map. But the word tigern (teurn) seems to be Goidelic as well as Cymric. See Gwentian Code, I. v. 9, macuyeit = youths; Dimetian Code, I. iv. 1, maccuyeit = youths; Venedotian Code I. v. 4, macku-

² W.L. XIV. iv. 5.

II. THE TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP THAT OF A FAMILY.

CHAP. VI.

In the Welsh Codes the tribal system of Wales is made throughout to turn upon the possession of Cymric blood, and Cymru in the time of the Codes had become to a great extent geographically identical with modern Wales.

Most of Wales originally Goidelic.

But Mr. Skene has shown that before the invasion of Cunedda and his sons the Cymric population was confined to the eastern part of Wales only. 'We find,' he writes, 'the seaboard of Wales on the west in the occupation of the Gwyddyl, or Gael, and the Cymry confined to the eastern part of Wales only and placed between them (i.e. the Gwyddyls) and the Saxons. A line drawn from Conway, on the north, to Swansea, on the south, would separate the two races of the Gwyddyl and the Cymry on the west and on the east. In North Wales the Cymry possessing Powys, with the Gwyddyl in Gwynedd, and Mona or Anglesey. In South Wales the Cymry possessing Gwent and Morganwg, with the Gwyddyl in Dyfed, and Brecknock occupied by the mysterious Brychan and his family.'1

The real Cumbria further North. Mr. Skene shows, in fact, that, whilst Powys and the Severn Valley were ancient Cymric districts, the stronghold of the Cymry was the real Cumbria further north, viz. from the Dee and the Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde.²

Accordingly, when Cunedda and his sons in the

Galloway. Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. i. p. 238.

¹ Four Ancient Books of Wales, chap. iv.

² With the exception of Pictish

sons from the North.

fifth century came from the north with their tribal CHAP. VI. following of Cymry to drive out the Gwyddyls from Cunedda Wales, and only succeeded in doing it after two or three generations of constant conflict, it does not seem likely that they should recognise them as of their own Cymric kindred just because both conquerors and conquered were Celtic in race. Cymry were new comers, and conquered North Wales and Anglesev first, and it was not until the time of Cunedda's great-grandson Maelgwn that they became masters of South Wales also. Even then, as regards the old inhabitants, they were still a conquering tribe.

There is a curious passage in the Venedotian Code which shows that the true Cymric land was in the north, even after the time of Maelgwn. Under the heading 'Privileges of Arvon' the following story is told :-

' Here Elidyr the Courteous, a man from the North, was slain, and after his death the men of the North came here to avenge him. The chiefs, their leaders, were Clydno Eiddin [of Edinburgh?'. Nudd the Generous, son of Senyllt, Morday the Generous, son of Servari, and Rydderch, the Generous, son of Tudwal Tudglyd [of Strathclyde?, and they came to Arvon, and because Elidyr was slain at Aber Mewydus, in Arvon, they burned Arvon as a further revenge. And then Run, son of Maelgwn, and the men of Gwynedd, assembled in arms, and proceeded to the banks of the Gweryd [Forth?] in the North, and there they were long disputing who should take the lead through the River Gweryd. Then Run sent a messenger to Gwynedd, to ascertain who were entitled to the lead, and some say that Maelday the elder, the Lord of Penardd, adjudged it to the men of Arvon. Iorwerth, the son of Madog, on the authority of his own information, affirms that Idno the Aged assigned it to the men of the black-headed shafts. And thereupon the men of Arvon advanced in the van, and were valorous there, and Taliesin sang-

> Behold from the ardency of their blades With Run the reddener of armies. The men of Arvon with their ruddy lances.

CHAP. VI.

And then, on account of the length of time they remained in arms, their wives slept with their bond-servants, and on that account Run granted them fourteen privileges. . . . And if there be who shall doubt one of these privileges, the community at Bangor and that of Beuno shall uphold them.'

There can be little doubt that this story is connected with a disputed succession on the death of Maelgwn. Possibly the question in dispute may have been what Cymric family had the right to the head-chieftainship, and the expedition of Elidyr from the north may have been to claim it. He is said to have married the daughter of Maelgwn. Be this as it may, the story shows that the traditional connection was not then broken between the Cymry of Wales and the old tribal home further north from whence they had sprung.

Cunedda's invasion a tribal migration.

Speaking broadly then, this invasion of Cunedda and his sons was one of those tribal movements of which history is so full, in which tribes allied in blood when conquered are as a matter of course treated as strangers and made what Bede calls 'tributary to the conquering tribe.' The Saxons reduced conquered Teutonic tribes into gafolgelders, and these gafolgelders were probably very much what the Welsh Codes call aillts and taeogs.

That Cunedda came from the north, that his court may have been at Carlisle, that he may possibly have held office in the Roman army, that his force on the Roman Wall was 900 horse (i.e. a Roman legion), that he wore the gold belt which was the badge of the Roman Dux, and that some of his ancestors' names were Roman—all this is not in

¹ Venedotian Code, II. ii.

the least inconsistent with his being the head-chieftain CHAP. VI. of Northern Cymric tribes.1 The great German Cunedda's Hermann was nearly all this, and, no doubt, his training. Roman training was one secret of his power. Roman forces withdrawn, tribal instincts would rise again into prominence, and conquests would be made on tribal lines.2

The very phrase 'Cunedda and his sons' suggests His chiefthat his chieftainship was a tribal one, and it is that of a perfectly consistent with tribal rules that it should be that of a royal family rather than a merely personal or individual thing.

family.

It was also in accordance with tribal instincts that his sons should be sub-chieftains (mechdeyrns) and share in his kingdom, giving their names to the subordinate divisions of the conquered country ruled by them.

There are traces of this family or tribal character of the chieftainship as well in the legends of their history as in the succession to the head-chieftainship. Traces such as these are not without value where real history is wanting.

In the 'Life of St. Carannog,' 3 it is incidentally Division stated that Cunedda had several sons, that the first-tainship born was Tybiawn, who died before Cunedda's raid into But it goes on to say that his brother Meiriaun divided the possessions of his father among his brethren.

¹ See Professor Rhys's Celtic Britain, p. 135.

² Nennius places the invasion of Cunedda 146 years before Mailcun (Maelgwn) reigned.

³ Lives of Cambro - British Saints (Rees), pp. 100 and 400. The MS. from which it was transcribed is early 12th century.

CHAP. VI.

So in the 'Life of St. Cadoc,' the sons of Glywys, a so-called regulus of part of Glamorganshire and Gwent, natalico more divided their father's kingdom between them, every one taking his special province, whilst we learn from another legend that Gwynllyw the eldest ruled over the whole as princeps dominator.²

Thus chieftainship in a tribe seems to have been the family possession of a gwely, like the 'tir gwely-awc' of the proprietary tribesmen.

Periodical choice of ruling family.

So again in the succession to the head-chieftainship, it would almost seem as though there were traces of recurring periods in the royal family history when a new choice had to be made, and the headship became settled in a single family chosen out from the others. This choice obviously involved the subordination of the other families.

Thus from among the descendants of Cunedda *Maelgwn* was chosen, and the placing of him in the chair made of birds' wings on the sea-shore, according to the legend recorded in the Welsh Laws, may well have been the form taken by the ceremony on his election to the headship of all Cymru.³

Maelgwn.

Maelgun's accession was evidently an epoch in Welsh tribal history. He took up his residence at Aberffraw as brenhin of Venedotia. There were other ruling families in different districts, but the headship of Cymru remained thenceforth in his family alone.⁴

¹ Id. pp. 22 and 310.

² Id. p. 146.

³ W.L. V. ii. 1.

⁴ See Professor Rhys's Celtic Britain, p. 125 et seq.

He died, as already said, in the first visitation CHAP. VI. of the 'Yellow Death,' about A.D. 547, and was succeeded in the head-chieftainship ultimately by his great-grandson Iago, who again was a great leader, Iago. and fell in the Battle of Chester, A.D. 613.

Lastly, Iago's great-grandson, Cadwaladr, after cadraising the hopes of the Cymry by his leadership, died, it is said, during the second visitation of the 'Yellow Death,' about A.D. 664-683.1

So much for the traditional succession to the chieftainship in the family of Cunedda.

But, side by side with the Aberffraw line of Cymric chieftains, there seems to have been another of the same kind in Powys.

As already said, Powys was seemingly Cymric Ruling before the advent of Cunedda and his sons. the royal family of Catel-Tigern-Lug, according to Nennius, dated back to the time of St. Germanus.² He and his nine sons, according to Nennius, were baptised by St. Germanus, and blessed in the words, 'A king shall not be wanting of thy seed for ever'; and Nennius adds, writing early in the eighth century :---

And Powys.

'And, agreeably to the prediction of St. Germanus, he became a king, all his sons were kings, and from their offspring the whole country of Powys has been governed to this day.'

Thus legend and tradition alike testify to the tribal character of Welsh chieftainship as that of a ruling family, and not merely of a single person or leader.

¹ Professor Rhys's Celtic Britain, p. 128.

² Whether Zimmer is right in giving a late origin to this legend

or not does not much affect the force of it in this connection.

Nennius Vindicatus, p. 72 et seq.

The chief's household under the Codes.

In the constitution of the *brenhin's* household, as described in the Codes, the tribal character of the royal family was in part at least sustained.

It had its *penteulu*, or chief of household, like any other family, and he must be of the royal blood—a son or nephew. A mere *uchelwr* could not occupy the position, because he was not of the chieftain's kindred. The *brenhin* himself could not be chief of the household because he had another office. Nor could the *edling*, or designated successor of the *brenhin*. He had another office and a higher privilege, equal to that of the *brenhin*.

His family all edlings till settled on land. The family of royal privilege is said in the Codes to consist of sons, nephews, and first cousins. In a sense they all were *edlings*; ² but they ceased to belong to it when they obtained separate possession of land for themselves. Their privilege became then that of their land.

'When the edling dies he is to leave his horses and his dogs to the brenhin, for that is the only ebediw he is to render, and the reason why he ought to render no other is because he is a near relation (aylaut) to the brenhin. The near relations (aylodeu) of the brenhin are his sons, his nephews, and his first cousins. Some say that every one of these is an edling; others say that no one is an edling except that person to whom the brenhin shall give hope of succession and designation.

'The edling and those whom we have above mentioned shall possess that privilege until they obtain land; after that, their privilege shall be identified with the privilege of the land they obtain, except they obtain land in villenage (vyleyn dyr, in another MS. kaeth dir). In that case the privilege of the land

shall augment until it shall become free.' 3

Hence the younger sons of the royal family, settled

¹ V.C. I. vii. 1.

² V.C. I. v. 5.

³ Id. See also D.C. I. v. 8.

upon land, would become eventually breyrs and CHAP. VI. uchelwrs. But such a son, placed at the head of the llys of a cantref or cymwd, became in some sense a territorial chief. As such, he held a royal court of privileged officers among the uchelwrs of his district. So it was in Howel's time,1 and his legislation, as already mentioned, recognised these sub-chieftains.

Hence it follows that the royal stock was from Descentime to time, as it were, swarming off into new dants of chieftains family stocks, or, to change the metaphor, overflow- become uchelwrs ing into and swelling the number of Cymric proprie- and merge tors of land. New kindreds, offshoots from the royal tribe kindred, were from time to time taking their places side by side with the other kindreds of Cymru.

How many of the Cymric kindreds were descended from Cunedda and his sons, or others of his kindred who came with him to conquer Wales, or were sprung from the royal family of Powys, we cannot tell. But the centuries between Cunedda's chieftainship and Howel's afforded quite time enough for the Cymric stock in Wales to multiply without bringing into their tribe the conquered people of the land. A race which guarded its blood so keenly, which made the stranger family wait, unless hastened by intermarriage, till the ninth degree of kindred was reached before its members were sufficiently naturalised to be admitted into fellowship and freedom-allowed to bear arms and to share in responsibility for crimeswas not likely to have admitted the conquered races wholesale into tribal union. The two visitations of the 'Yellow Death' probably thinned the population

CHAP. VI. and prepared the way for the new comers, and whether the older races of the land were Goidelic or Brython, they were most likely regarded as strangers in blood to the conquering tribesmen, and as such treated as taeogs or aillts.

The old inhabitants remain strangers in blood.

Thus whilst chieftainship in the tribe was the prerogative of a family rather than of a person, and the tie of blood-relationship bound together the head-chieftains and the sub-chieftains and the chiefs of kindreds and of households, and whilst the continuity of kindred so secured throughout the whole hierarchy of chieftains bound the whole body of tribesmen together by the tie of blood, the gulf remained as deep as ever between the tribesmen and the strangers in blood.

Lastly, if the Cymry came into Wales with Cunedda, or in the migration from the north connected by tradition with his name, then, unless it were in Powys, we must not look for evidence of the Cymric tribal system in Wales anywhere earlier than the coming of Cunedda, or in South Wales before Maelgwn's conquest, and the first visitation of the 'Yellow Death.'

It would be rash to regard this conclusion as other than provisional, till further light has been thrown upon the subject by Celtic scholars, but it has an important bearing upon the interpretation of the earlier evidence to which attention will hereafter be called, and which has to do with the contact in the sixth century between the Cymric conquerors of South Wales and the Christian Church.

THE CHIEFTAINSHIP IN ITS RELATION TO LAND.

The Extents of the so-called manor of Aberffraw Chap. VI. have already familiarised the reader with the posi- The later tion, at the time of the conquest of North Wales, of manorial nosition the chieftain in relation, first to his so-called manor of the with its maerdref, its free officials of the court, and the hamlets of nativi holding in trefgevery and paving rents in produce, and, secondly, to the other hamlets of the cantref, whether occupied by weles of free tribesmen, paying food rents commuted into money, or by nativi, still for the most part paying rents in kind. But the family character of his land ownership was hidden, so to speak, under the shadow of the manorial aspect of his lordship.

The originally family character of the chieftain's The ownership is, however, apparent enough in the charters of donations made by chieftains in the of his twelfth century, to say nothing of the earlier evidence apparent hereafter to be examined.

There must always be some doubt how far under charters. the tribal system the land which was set apart for the chieftainship in each cantref or cymud, and the food rents from the tribesmen or strangers in blood, were at the chieftain's disposal, and how far his family (aelodeu) had rights of maintenance out of them.

It might well be that in newly conquered districts the chieftain's power of disposal was exceptionally great, not only because his own power would be greatest after victory, but also because there would be freshly conquered lands which could be

chieftain.

character ownership in the twelfth

CHAP. VI. allotted or disposed of without displacing any tribesmen.

Moreover, if the inhabitants of conquered regions were retained on the land as aillts and taeogs, and made tributary (according to tribal custom), it would be easy to transfer to a church or to a relative the tribute of a holding or district without disturbing anyone.

Further, even in ordinary times the chieftain's power as head of the tribe over unoccupied waste may always have been recognised. On the other hand, what in modern phrase is meant by transfer of the land itself, or transfer of the freehold, was probably an idea as foreign to the tribal system in its early stages as individual contrasted with family ownership. Transfer of the tribute and lordship of a district was probably far more in accordance with tribal conceptions. The tribal and family use of the land upon payment of customary food rents or tribute was, perhaps, at first, the nearest approach to ownership, and the transfer of the right to the tribute the nearest approach to alienation.

In later times, as the lordship became more and more manorial, modern ideas crept in together with modern forms of conveyance. But even then there is incidental evidence in the charters giving effect to the grants to churches, made as late as the twelfth century, that the subject of the donations was not the individual and independent property of the chieftain making them. They show that his power of making the donation was limited. To make it valid his act required not, indeed, the consent and confirmation of any council or witan, but the consent

Consent of the chieftain's family needful to the validity of his donations. and confirmation of his family, as in other cases of CHAP. VI.

'tir quelyawc.'

Thus, in a charter of donation to the Abbey of The Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire, 'Resus, Prince of donation to the South Wales,' calls himself proprietarius princeps, and Abbey of recites that he had built the abbey and made a Florida. donation of it and of land to its abbot in A.D. 1184, and yet it was necessary for his three sons to confirm the donation, thus, 'together with him establishing it before many of his army, in the Church of St. Brigid at Raiadr.' And further, 'he and his sons and all his posterity' joined in giving it the usual immunities.1

So again, to take an example from another district, the necessity of the concurrence of heirs in the disposition of property belonging to the families of chieftains is very obvious in the following case, notwithstanding the lateness of date and the use of ordinary Norman forms of conveyancing.

A certain Gruffydd of Dinas Bran (son of Madoc, ponation the founder of the Abbey of Valle Crucis, and of by a chieftain Isota, daughter of Ithel, Prince of Gwent) had four to his wife for her life sons, and died A.D. 1270.

After his death, in 5 Ed. I., an inquisition was held Maelor to inquire into the legality of the seizure by Prince Llewelyn of certain lands held in dower by his widow.2

From the finding of the jury, it appears that Gruffydd, on his marriage with Emma, gave to her

found in Appendix D. I am indebted for this instance to the Hon. Mrs. Bulkeley Owen, of Tedsmore Hall, Oswestry.

of the cymred of

Saesneg.

¹ See Dugdale's account of Strata Florida, Monasticon, v. p. 632.

² This inquisition and the charter cited in this case will be

With the consent of his heirs.

CHAP. VI. the whole cymwd (patria) of Maelor Saesneg (in Flintshire) for her life. The charter by which he did this shows that he did it with the assent and consent of his heirs (assensu et consensu heredum meorum). The cymwd is described as 'totam patriam que vocatur Maylorseysnec,' and it contained several villæ or villatæ, just as the Denbigh Extent might lead us to expect. The deed was witnessed by Anianus, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Abbot of Valle Crucis, the donor's four sons, and others.

Purchase from 'the heirs of Erbistock.'

Then, by another charter, the same Gruffydd, again 'with the assent and consent of his heirs,' made a similar grant to Emma, of the property which came to him from his deceased brother Hywel, part of which had been purchased 'from all the heirs of Herbestoc' (de omnibus heredibus de Herbestoc.1) And, lastly, the four sons confirm to their mother, by a separate charter, all the above-mentioned property, also in addition that which their grandmother Isolda had purchased with their grandfather's concurrence. The Jury, on inquisition made into these circumstances, swore that this dower was given in due form by Gruffydd, with the confirmation of his heredes after his death, and with the confirmation of Llewelyn, then Prince of Wales, who confirmed all the donations. And they said that the custom of Wales was that everyone at his own will could give to his wife his lands and tenements, before marriage or after, at his pleasure.

Declaration of custom of Wales.

> The prince, Llewelyn, had evicted the widow from this property, and the jury explained the reason of

With regard to Erbistock see | Palmer in the Archaeological the interesting paper of Mr. A. N. Review, March 1888.

his action, and stated that the custom of Wales was CHAP. VI. such that as often as anyone from fear of war, or on other occasion, leaves his land and retires from Wales to other parts, the lord has a right to seize that land as escheat to him, and deal with it at his pleasure.

Strictly speaking, this case must not be taken as showing that under the tribal system dower was a character recognised incident, but rather that the practice was of these sanctioned by later custom of a husband, with the consent of his family, giving his wife a life interest in some of his property.

Again, it shows, no doubt, that chieftains in later times could and did purchase and dispose of property with family consent. The main provision made in this case was, however, far more of the character of a life interest in the tributes or dues of a lordship than a life interest in a modern landed estate. The grant embraced a whole patria or cymud, and the Denbigh Extent has made it clear that within the cymwd there were under the tribal system numerous weles of tribesmen and of so-called nativi. case of Maelor Saesneg, it may not have been so, as the district of which it was a part had been, for a time at least, under Saxon rule, and during this period it may well have lost some of its tribal characteristics.

On the whole, it must be recognised that even Two kinds under more strictly tribal conditions, with the consent of their family, chieftains could and did make donations to churches, as well as to their wives, and that these might be of two kinds:-

(1) The transfer of the tribute or food rent of land Of the from the chieftain, and the support of his establish- food-rent. ment, to a church, or a monastery, without changing

CHAP. VI. its amount, so constituting the occupiers of that land, probably most often aillts or taeogs, thenceforth tenants of a church, or monastery, instead of tenants of the chieftain.

Of a defini area of land.

(2) The donation of a certain area of land, on which the church or monastery was built, freed from all secular payments or dues, showing that there was tribal land of some kind, cultivated or waste, allotted under tribal conditions to the chieftain or his family, or, possibly, *escheat* to him, which he, with the consent of his family, could dispose of to a church, or otherwise.¹

IV. THE CHIEFTAIN'S FOOD-RENTS FROM FREE TRIBESMEN.

The question of the transfer or donation of land by chieftains is so closely connected with the foodrents from the land that it will be convenient at this stage of the inquiry to examine more closely into their character.

Foodrents commuted into tunc. In the Extents the food-rents of the free tribesmen were found to be commuted into definite money payments made under the name of *tunc*.

Accordingly in the Codes the customary unit of

¹ This conclusion, drawn from later charters, does not seem to be inconsistent with the Codes.

It is true that the Triads represent that the right of coaration of the waste was a part of the cyvarwys of every tribesman, and that 'every wild and waste belongs to the country and kindred in common' (W.L. XIII. ii. 101). But this is consistent with the power of the brenhin to dis-

pose of the special portion of the waste in every cymwd allotted to him. According to the Codes it was the official duty of the maer and canghellor 'to keep the waste of the brenhin until he shall dispose of it' (D.C. II. xii. 9 and G.C. I. xxxv.), and, according to the Venedotian Code (II. xviii. 7), these officers did not lose their right of service upon it even when it was disposed of.

gwestva is commuted into what is called the tunc Chap. VI.

pound.

There are indications that originally, before the commutation, the payment of food-rents was arranged in such a way as to supply the customary provision for so many 'nights' entertainments,' a practice of which the firma unius noctis of the Domesday Survey and other mediæval documents, was probably a survival.

The questra of the Codes commuted into the tune pound.

The firma unius noctis.

It is obvious that Cymric chieftains, when on progress from one place to another, whether on military or hunting and hawking expeditions, needed both shelter and also provision for the nightly entertainment of themselves and their company.

The onus of making provision for their shelter Provision fell, under the Codes, upon the aillts or non-tribesmen.

The brenhin's hall consisted of six columns or poles, probably often newly felled trees, placed in parallel rows of three, and fastened together at the top to the roof-tree, thus forming a kind of nave. Then at some distance behind the poles low walls of tion of the stakes and wattle shut in the aisles. The roof was covered with branches and thatch, and there were wattle doors of entrance at the end. Along the aisles behind the poles were placed beds of rushes, called quelys, and the footboards of the beds were used as seats in the daytime.1 All houses put up in this way were alike, and each piece of timber had its customary value from the poles and the roof-tree down to the stakes and the wattle.2

chieftain's shelter when on progress to be made by the aillts.

chieftain's

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, Descr. Camb. I. c. x.

² Venedotian Code, III. xxi. 6.

CHAP, VI.

The fire was in the middle between the central posts, and divided the upper portion, where sat the chief, the *edling*, and principal officers, from the lower and humbler end of the hall. The silentiary stood by one of the central posts, and it was his duty to call attention by striking it with his staff.¹

Such a hall as this was easily constructed and removed, and owed what fleeting grandeur it possessed to its curtains, and the weapons of the temporary inmates hung upon its sides.

At first sight the construction of buildings such as this for a few nights' shelter of the chieftain and his company might seem too onerous a customary obligation to be periodically imposed upon the chieftain's 'villeins.' But it is recorded in the Boldon Book that the *villani* of the Bishop of Durham had to furnish for his great hunts just such a hall in the forest, 60 feet long and 16 feet wide between the posts, together with a buttery, steward's room, chamber, privy, and chapel, so that the following passage from the 'Venedotian Code' need not be surprising:—

'Nine houses which the villeins of the *brenhin* are to erect for him: a hall, a chamber, a buttery, a stable, a dog-house, a barn, an oven, a privy, and a dormitory.' ³

This provision frequently wanted.

Whether these buildings were put up afresh for every royal visit, or were only repaired on occasion, we are not told. Possibly the *brenhin* may have required such provision at frequent intervals, for besides his hunting and hawking he seems very often to have called out the tribesmen to join his host in the mili-

¹ V.C. I. vi. 1, and D.C. I. v. 2.

² Boldon Book, p. 575.

³ Venedotian Code, I. xliii. 16, and see Dimetian Code, II. xi. 7.

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tary exercises which perhaps had succeeded to more CHAP. VI. strictly marauding expeditions of an earlier period. Military

Military expeditions and exercises.

'The king (brenhin) is not to go with his host out of the country tions and except once a year, but they are to attend the king in his own exercises. dominion whenever he shall please. The king is to have from every villein-tref a man, a horse, and an axe to form encampments, at his own cost.'

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, Welsh tribesmen were eager to join in warlike expeditions—gens armis dedita tota.² He represents not only the uchelwrs (nobiles), but all the people as eager to rush from the plough at the signal for war.

The tribesmen were free from having men or dogs quartered upon them except during the great progress of the *brenhin's* household in winter.

'Neither maer nor canghellor is to be imposed upon a free maenol, nor progress, nor dovraeth, nor youths (mackbijeit), nor anything (except as above) except the great progress of the household in the winter.' 3

What, then, was this great progress of the household to which the tribesmen were subject?

The progress of the houseprogress of the houseprogress of the house-

'The chief of the [brenhin's] household is to have a progress assigned him by the king after separating from him at Christmas, himself and the household. The household is to consist of three parties: the elder party, the middle party, and the younger party; and alternately he is to be with each: and the party he is with is to choose its house. And so long as he shall be on that progress he is to have servants, a doorward and a cook, and servants of the table, and these are to have the skins of the animals which are slaughtered, and the cooks are to have the tallow, the fragments, and the entrails.' 4

The rough character of these progresses, though restricted by the Codes, is apparent enough. The slaughter of animals for the night's entertainment,

The progress of the household after Christ-

¹ I. xliii. 15.

² Desc. Camb. ch. viii.

³ II. xix. 6.

⁴ Venedotian Code, I. vii. 22.

CHAP. VI. and the division among the followers of the skins, the tallow, and the entrails, are graphic features indeed. These progresses were, moreover, quite apart from the military and hunting or hawking expeditions of the brenhin himself, because when they were concluded the chief of the household was to return to him, and remain with him for the rest of the year.

The progress of the chieftain and his company.

The brenhin's own progress was of another kind. He and his company were not quartered on the tribesmen, but, whilst his aillts had to provide him with his necessary buildings for shelter, it was the duty of the free tribesmen to contribute the food and mead for his entertainment.

The grestraof the free tribesmen for his 'night's entertainment.'

This they did by the payment of the questva or food-rent. And, as before said, there are incidental indications that it was provided originally on the system of the 'night's entertainment.'

Amongst the curious Welsh phrases into which the number nine entered, one is recorded in the 'Welsh Laws' which is significant in this connection—Nat nos questy—'the nine nights of the guesthouse.' Further, in the 'Dimetian Code' each tret providing its questva to the chieftain is 'to light the fire three nights and three days for him,' 3 suggesting at least that the gwestvas were arranged so as to provide for periods of three nights at a time.

Again, the Venedotian food-rent, or tunc pound in lieu of it, was to be accompanied by the payment of 24d. of supper-silver for the 24 servants of 'every

² Translated in the Latin ver-

sion 'novem noctes hospitis,' Leges Wallice, II. xlvi. 8.

³ D.C. II. xix. 6.

feast at which mead was drunk,' 1 thus leading to the CHAP. VI. inference that the tunc pound of Venedotia was provision for one night's carousal of the brenhin and his company.

There is some obscurity in the Codes with regard The to the method of clustering the households or home- ment in steads of tribesmen into the groups from which the groups for questva, or tune pound in lieu of it, was due.

arrange-

In the Venedotian Code 2 the tyddyns were grouped or tune into randirs, the randirs into gavaels, the gavaels into trefs, and the trefs into maenols. And the maenol was the unit which paid the questva, or tunc pound. In South Wales the gwestva-paving group was the tref, and this was composed of four randirs, each of which contained 312 erws of 'arable, pasture, and wood, and space for buildings on the twelve erws.'3

Thus the gwestva-paying unit in North Wales seems at first sight to have been a certain number of tyddyns, whilst in South Wales it embraced a certain area of land. It is possible, however, that there may be some way of reconciling the two methods, for there are indications that in the description in the Venedotian Code the tyddyn is taken as a unit of land measurement. On the whole, however, it is better, perhaps, not to attempt at this point any further explanation than that the group of holdings called a maenol in Venedotia and a tref in South Wales was the gwestva-paying unit, bearing in mind also the fact, learned from the Denbigh Extent, that the villatee, whatever they might be, were the fixed units, and that the weles of tribesmen were

¹ V.C. I. ix. 25. ² V.C. II. xvii. 3 D.C. II. xix. and xx.

Chap. VI. easily moved, with their cattle and their internally complex tribal rights, from one district to another.

In what the gwestva consisted.

In the Venedo-

tian Code.

Passing, then, to the *gwestva*, or food-rent itself, in what did it consist?

In the Venedotian Code the 'tunc of a free maenol' is thus described:—

From every free maenol the brenhin is to have a vat (keruýn) of mead nine handbreadths in length diagonally.

If mead be not obtained, two of bragot; and if bragot be not obtained, four of ale $(gbr\dot{y}w = cerevisia)$.

The vat of liquor was, therefore, a prominent feature in the *gwestva*, but other things also were included. A few clauses further on, the 'king's *gwestva* from a free *maenol*' is more fully described, thus:—

The measure of the brenhin's gwestva in winter from a free maenol: that is to say:—

A horseload of the best flour that shall grow on the land.

The carcase of a cow or an ox.

A full vat (kerujn) of mead 9 handbreadths in its depth diagonally and as much in breadth (sic).

Seven thraves of oats of one band for provender.

A three-year-old swine.

A salted flitch of 3 fingerbreadths in thickness.

A vessel of butter 3 handbreadths in depth, not heaped, and 3 in breadth.

And if these cannot be obtained a pound is to be paid in lieu of them, and that is the *tunc* pound, and 24d. to the king's servants.

The statement is then repeated that if mead cannot be obtained two vats of *bragot* or four vats of ale are to be paid.

The *tunc* pound covered all, and it is further stated that it is to be reckoned as divided thus, viz.: 'Six score [pence] for bread, three score for liquor (*llyn*), and three score for *enllyn*.'

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The tunc pound, therefore, contained twelve score, Chap. VI. or 240 pence. And as in the Latin version a The tune 'score of silver' is rendered as 'uncia argenti,' it is pound was clear that we have to deal with weights of silver lb. of instead of coin, and with the Gallic pound of silver. 20 pennyweights to the ounce and 12 ounces to the pound. The equation, therefore, between the foodrent and the pound of silver may, after all, be founded on ancient custom.

In the Gwentian and Dimetian Codes the tref is The the unit for payment of the tunc pound, and the grestra of the questva, of which the latter was the equivalent, is Gwentian described almost in the same words as in the Vene-Dimetian dotian Code, leaving out some of the smaller items. It consisted of the horseload of wheat-flour, an ox, 7 thraves of oats, a vat (gerbyn) of honey, and 24 of silver.1

Codes.

When honey was wanting, two vats of bragot or four of beer were to be paid instead. And the vat, or cerbyn, is described in these words:-

'The height of the vat is to be nine handbreadths when measured diagonally from the further bottom groove to the hither rim. . . . And it ought to be sufficiently capacious for the brenhin and his elder to bathe therein.' 2

There was also a summer questiva, which was to consist of :-

a fat cow, a fat wether 3 years old, and a sow of 3 winters three fingers thick, and [it is added] 'the trev is to bring all these to the king, and to light a fire three nights and three days for him.'3

In the Gwentian Code the summer gwestva is only obscurely alluded to, but in other points the

Dimetian Code, II, xix.; ² D.C. II. xix. 3. Gwentian Code, II. xxxiv. ³ Id. xix. 6.

CHAP. VI. description in the Dimetian Code is closely followed, except that instead of the vat of honey the words used are 'what shall suffice for a vat of honey,' probably in both cases the meaning being as much honey as would brew into a vat of mead.

The cervin or vat of mead, bragot, or beer.

The vat (kerwijn or cerbijn) of mead, or, if mead were wanting, to be filled four times with beer (gbrijw or cbrbf = cerevisia), is of some interest. The word used throughout connects it not so much with mead as with the Gallic beverage beer. Bragot also seems to have been a Gallic drink. The word bragot (Irish, brach), in Latin brace, occurs constantly in connection with the food-rents of Brittany in the Redon Chartulary. It is mentioned by Pliny, and was used sometimes for malt and sometimes for the liquor brewed from it.¹

This vat, by which all three beverages were measured for the *gwestva*, is always described in the Codes as nine handbreadths in its diagonal measure, following the traditional method of using the gauging-rod adopted by the professional gauger.

The method of measuring vessels in this way by their diagonal is a widely extended and ancient one. Thus, in the Icelandic *Gragas* the same method of measuring the size of a vessel is used.²

In the Latin version of the Dimetian Code the dolium, or vat, of mead is described as nine palms in longo et in lato,³ but in the other Latin version the nine palms are to be per obliquum a fundo usque ad

(Berlin, 1877), p. 132.

³ Leg. Wall. II. xiii. 2.

¹ Cf. with the Greek χόρμα, and Irish cuirm, and Pliny's mention of the Spanish word cerea. And see Hehn's Kulturpflanzen, &c.

² Gragas, vol. i. p. 501; Kaupa-balkr, tit. lxxxv.

summum. These may probably be taken as inexact Chap. VI. translations from the Welsh, 'nine handbreadths diagonally measured.'

The handbreadth was a measure distinct from the palm, and, reckoning the width and height as equal, the contents of a round vessel with upright sides and with such a diagonal measurement would contain not much more or less than the Winchester quarter of 64 gallons (280 litres).

Thus, presumably, 64 gallons of mead or four times the amount of beer, together with the carcase of a cow or an ox, and a horseload of flour, with bacon and butter added, was the gwestva contributed by the maenol in Venedotia and the tref in South Wales towards the nightly carousals of the chieftain and his company.

The normal retinue or company of the brenhin is The described in the Venedotian Code as consisting of normal retinue or thirty-six horsemen—equivalent to uchelwrs or equites company of the -i.e. of the twenty-four officials of the king and chieftain. queen, and twelve questais, possibly uchelwrs, bringing the questvas from the twelve questva-paying maenols in the cantref; and there would be numerous hangers-on and dependents, including the twenty-four servants to whom supper silver was due 2

How many nights' carousal were provided for by the twelve questvas from the cantref in which the chieftain was making his progress remains undisclosed.

¹ Leg. Wall. I. xviii. 6.

² V.C. I. ix. 25.

V. THE CHIEFTAIN'S DUES FROM NON-TRIBESMEN.

CHAP, VI.

The main burden of the chieftain's progresses and maintenance was placed, no doubt, upon the shoulders of others than the free tribesmen.

The twelve questvas of free tribesmen from each cantref-six from each cymwd-were a substantial contribution to his maintenance, but it was supplemented by other provisions.

The maertref of the chief.

In the first place, according to the Venedotian Code, the brenhin is entitled in every cymwd to two trefs—one for his maertref and the other for his waste and summer pasture.1

These two trefs may be looked upon as constituting what in the Extents are described as the prince's manor in each cymwd. The obligations of the men of the maertref have already been alluded to in connection with the Manor of Aberffraw.²

Apart from this special provision for the chieftain, according to the Venedotian Code, the cymwd was to be arranged in twelve groups, or maenols.

Six of these, as we have seen, were gwestva-paying maenols of free tribesmen. Of the eight maenols left, two were set apart specially for the support of the maer and the canghellor. The remaining four were to be assigned to aillts to support dogs and horses and for the purposes of progress (chilch) and quarters (dovraeth).

The maer and canghellor were to make progress

¹ V.C. II. xvii. 12.

² The description in the Den
Isdulas will be found in the

Four maenols in each cymwd assigned to aillts. Their services.

bigh Extent of the manor and Appendix, p. 91.

in parties of four among the king's aillts twice in the CHAP. VI. year. And besides this:-

'The aillts of the king (brenhin) are not to support him nor his household. . . . They are to furnish pack-horses to the king for the hosts, and they are to present the queen once every year with meat and drink, and they are to support the dogs, the huntsmen, the falconers, and the youths, all of them once every year.' 1

It has already been mentioned that the aillts had to put up the chieftain's buildings, and furnish horses and men, with hatchets, for making encampments on his military expeditions.

In addition to these obligations, according to the The Venedotian Code, the bond maenols had to furnish bruds or yearly two dawn-bwyds, or food-gifts.

food-gifts of the nontribesmen.

In Winter.

A three-year-old swine.

A vessel of butter 3 handbreadths in depth and three in breadth.

A vat full of bragot nine handbreadths in depth diagonally.

A thrave of oats of one band for provender.

26 loaves of the best bread grown on the land. . . .

A man to kindle the fire in the hall that night, or 1d.

In Summer.

A three-year-old wether.

A dish of butter.

26 loaves.

A cheese of one milking of all the cows in the tref.2

According to the Gwentian Code, the dawn bwyds were as under:

Winter.

Vat of ale.

A sow 3 fingers thick.

A salted flitch.

60 loaves of bread. . . .

20 sheaves of oats.

1d. from every randir to the servants.

¹ V.C. II. xix. 9-11.

² V.C. II. xxvii. 2.

Summer.

CHAP. VI.

Tub of butter 9 handbreadths in width and a handbreadth in thickness with the thumb standing.

Cheese of a meal's milk from all the taeogs, along with bread.

According to the Dimetian Code, the amount of the dawn-bwyds was as under:

Winter.

A sow 3 fingers thick in her hams, &c. (or tub of butter).

A flitch of salted bacon.

60 loaves of wheaten bread (six of fine flour).

Vat full of bragot.

20 sheaves of oats and one band.

1d. for the servants.2

As to the summer dawn-bwyd there is some obscurity, but it did not differ much from that of the other Codes.

VI. CORROBORATION OF THE CODES BY THE EXTENTS.

Evidence of the Extents.

It will be convenient in concluding this chapter to return once more from the Codes to the Extents, in order to test the reality and authenticity of the customary law recorded in the former by comparison with the facts found by the surveyors actually existing at the date of the latter.

It refers back to the period before the conquest. The earliest Extent of Aberffraw afforded evidence describing sufficiently clearly the money payments of the free tenants and the rents in kind of the hamlets of nativi. And the result of the petition of the tenants of Penros proved both that the description given was of the condition of things in the time of the princes before the conquest of North

¹ G.C. II. xxxiv.

² D.C. II. xix.

Wales, and also that the greatest care was taken to CHAP. VI. perpetuate the rents and services without alteration.

But we must go to the Denbigh Extent for an example of a villata which was still the geographical unit for payment of the food-rents of the free tribesmen commuted into the tunc pound.

If the reader will look back once again to the The unit analysis of the villata of Prees given above at p. 38, ment of he will see an example of a group of six so-called the tunc progenies or weles located together in a single villata, the though by no means confined to that one locality. Extent. The progenies of Canon and Pythle ap Lauwarghe had several other locations. Their flocks and herds and dwellings were scattered here and there in places where they had rights of grazing. But at Prees they each had rights to the occupation of an undivided sixth part of the villata. And as this villata was a geographical unit from which a tunc pound was due, they had each to pay their sixth part of the pound—i.e. 3s. 4d.

for paypound in Denbigh

They were not paying the exact amount at the The date of the Extent because there had been escheats Prees paid and forfeitures. Instead of the full tunc pound the tenants of Prees at the date of the Extent were paying only 9s. $11\frac{1}{4}d$., but the entry of the surveyor Princes. begins by saying that 'the villata of Prees with its hamlets in the time of the Princes rendered of tung 20s. $0\frac{1}{2}d$. when it was entirely in the hands of true heirs before forfeitures.' (See App. p. 57.)

a tunc pound in the time

villata of

Now the progenies of Pythle, under the name of the grandsons of Pythle, also occupied the whole of the villata of Tebrith, and paid, therefore, the whole of the tunc pound of that villata.

CHAP. VI.

So also the villata of Tebrith was a tunc-paying unit.

The unit for payment was a geographical area or district.

Possibly arranged so that the whole of Venedotia should provide for the year's

entertain-

ments.

It is only in a few cases like these that in the Denbigh Extent a single villata paid the full *tunc* pound, but there are a great many cases in which two or more clustered together would make up an even pound.

In the meantime the cases of Prees and Tebrith are sufficient to show that the unit of food-rent commuted into the tunc pound was payable from a geographical area or district, and not charged upon particular weles or even groups of weles. In a word, the tribute of the chieftain was thus territorial and not personal. The weles of free tribesmen could be shifted about from one villata to another, and the number of weles could increase or diminish without altering the payments of a particular area or the total of the chieftain's food-rents.

If, for instance, the twelve free maenols of the Venedotian cantref each produced a vat of mead containing sixty-four gallons, the twelve vats from the whole cantref would produce 768 gallons; and if each vat contained the supply for three nights' carousal in the chieftain's hall the cantref would provide for thirty-six nights; and if at the time when the arrangement was made there were ten cantrefs in Venedotia, they might together provide for a year of 360 nights.

There is no evidence that this was the actual arrangement by which the year's supply of mead was provided—in fact, the number of cantrefs may have varied from time to time ¹—but it illustrates the possi-

¹ The authorities differ as to 'mentioned. See under 'Cantrev' the number of cantrefs in North in the glossary to Ancient Laws Wales, 10, 12, and 15 being of Wales.

bility of dividing a chieftain's territory into fixed CHAP. VI. geographical units, each of which should contribute an aliquot part of the year's supply of mead, just as King Solomon divided his tributary provinces so that each should provide for a month's supply of the wants of his luxurious court.

Besides the food-rents or questra payments of the The free tribesmen of the Codes, there was the burden of the of the annual progress of the brenhin's household at Christmas. And there were also various services in connection with the furnishing of horses, the tion of support of dogs and youths, which in the Codes fell services. upon the non-tribesmen in addition to their food gifts. There are traces of these also in the Extent.

pastus Denbigh Extent was in commuta-

Besides the tunc of each cymwd, generally divided into that from the free tribesmen and nativi respectively, there is always mention of other payments, under the name of pastus, of various kinds pastus principis, pastus familia principis, pastus stalonis, pastus penmackew et wayssyon bagheyn, &c.1

In the Latin version of the Dimetian Code the brenhin's household is translated 'familia Regis,' and there can be little doubt that the pastus of the Extent includes the payment in commutation of the annual provision, not only for the progress of the household, but also for other services connected with the keeping of horses and dogs, the fosterage and maintenance of youths, &c.

Thus, in the Extent of the villata of Prees, immediately after mention of the tunc, is the entry: 'De

Pastus penmackew et ways- | and young youths. See glossary, syon bagheyn = mackuyeit and Ancient Laws of Wales, sub gweisson bychen—i.e. fosterage 'Macwy.'

CHAP. VI. pastu the prince had nothing, neither of the pastus of the family of the prince nor other kinds, because all the tenants of this villa do these services in other villæ as appears above in each place and villata respectively.'

> The word pastus seems to be a word covering a variety of services, to some of which both classes of tenants were liable, nearly all of which at the time of the Extent had become commuted into money payments

The evidence of the Extents strongly corroborates that of the Codes.

and the two together warrant belief in the reality of the tribal customs,

and that in the main the principles of tribal custom have been correctly understood.

On the whole, as regards the relations of the chieftains to the tribesmen, the description contained in the Codes is corroborated by the facts recorded in the Extents. And, reviewing the evidence as a whole, as regards both the structure of the tribal society of the Cymry and its relation to the land, the facts recorded by the surveyors in the Extents and the explanation of them in the rules of customary law contained in the Codes are sufficiently consistent to warrant belief in the reality of tribal customs which could produce such results.

It would be presumptuous to suppose that in all cases the facts have been correctly grasped and the principles of tribal custom embodied in the Codes rightly understood. But the hope may, perhaps, be permitted that in the main, subject always to fresh evidence and constant reconsideration of what evidence already exists, a solid foundation has been laid for further historical and economic inquiry.

The almost unique advantage possessed by the Cymric tribal system in its survival into the period of Codes and Extents makes it a point of vantage for both of the further research both backwards and forwards. Any

Importance of this to the understanding

understanding of the modern economic evolution of CHAP. VI. society in Wales must start from it. And it may be economic a stepping-stone also to a knowledge of the earlier past, not only as regards the tribal system in Wales, but also as regards other tribal systems, of which so little is known, but which have, nevertheless, made large contributions to the economic structure of modern European society.

evolution of society in Wales. and also of the other tribal systems of Europe.

[Note.—In the Extents (8 Ed. I.) of some districts in Cardiganshire quoted in the document added as Appendix F to this edition (p. 108), the commots are described as held in so many 'Westuas,' each of five 'Randirs,' and each Westua pays four marks per annum of ' rent of assise,' and also services of providing food for the chief with his family on the yearly progress, as well as that of his huntsmen and youths with dogs and falconers with birds, 'which service is called "Westua." ' The document itself is of A.D. 1306 (34 Ed. I.), but the Extents quoted are of A.D. 1280, i.e. fifty-five years earlier than the Denbigh Extent.



CHAPTER VII.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM AND THE CHURCH.

I. THE IMMUNITY OF THE CHURCH FROM THE EXACTIONS OF TRIBAL CHIEFTAINS.

CHAP. VII. We have now to consider another element which strikes from outside like a wedge into the Welsh Tribal System.

It has already been noticed that the so-called Manor of Aberffraw was divided into two sections by the parish of Cadwaladr or Eghissel. This parish had two churches, one of which has perished. The surviving one contains the well-known stone with the inscription, supposed to be of the seventh century, in memory of St. Cadwaladr's grandfather, Cadvan, who reigned at Aberffraw about A.D. 616–630.

St.
Beuno's
monastery
at Clyn-

The Aberffraw chieftains made many donations to churches. Cadvan himself, according to the legends, had been converted by St. Beuno, and the church at Aberffraw—the church of the Palace—and the one at Trefdraeth, were both dedicated to that saint. St. Beuno's monastery at Clynnoc on the Carnarvonshire side of the Menai Straits was the gift of Cadvan's son Cadwallon.

The tradition of the gift of the site of this monastery is recorded shortly in the confirmatory charter

of Edward I.1 made after the conquest of North Wales on the evidence of the rector of the collegiate church of Clynnoc which had succeeded to the monastery.

VII. Its immunities.

CHAP.

'A certain Gwithenit gave his own villa of Clynnok Vawr to God and St. Beuno, then Abbot of Clynnok Vawr, for his soul and the soul of his consobrinus Catwalinus sine censu Regali, et sine consule, sine proprietate alicui, quamdiu fuerit lapis in

In the legendary life of St. Beuno the story of this gift is given more at length.

After the death of Cadvan (about A.D. 616) St. Beuno is said to have visited Aberffraw in order to purchase land from his son and successor, Cadwallon. In exchange for a golden rod (quaell eur) worth 60 cows,2 which Conan (or Cynan)3 son of Brochwel (Prince of Powys), had given to St. Beuno to be used as money, Cadwallon gave to the Saint a place called Gwaredauc, in Carnarvonshire. After he had built his church, and was walling in the boundaries, the title to the land was disputed by a woman to whom a child had been born, and who now claimed the land as the inheritance (tref y tat) of her child. She was perhaps the Cymric widow of an aillt, whose child had inheritance by maternity. Immediately St. Beuno went with the woman to Cadwallon, who, possibly, had treated the land as escheat, and demanded either other land or return of the golden rod. The Prince,

¹ Record of Carnarvon, p. | unit of value. 257.

rod was used as money, and equated with the cow, the usual | p. 375.

³ Cynan, son of Brochwel, 2 It is clear that the golden invaded Glamorgan after Cadoc's death .- Lives of Camb. Saints.

having refused his demand, was left by St. Beuno under a curse. Whereupon his cousin Guidevit

'for the sake of his soul and of the soul of his cousin Cadwallon, gave to God and Beuno for ever his *tref* called *Kelynnawc* (Clynnoc) without tribute (*heb vab*), without service (*heb ardreth*), &c.' ¹

The practical result of donations such as these to the saints and to the Church appears to have been to take the land so given once for all and absolutely from under the control of the chieftain of the district, and all tribal tribute and service to him.

Immunities of the church of Cadwaladr.

Thus, in the 'Record of Carnarvon,' the land belonging to the church of St. Cadwaladr was described as follows:—

'EGHISSEL is a free villa and held of St. Cadewaladre the King and there are in this villa two weles (wele Ith ap Tanherň and wele Welsonfraide ap Tanherň) and the heirs are so and so. And nothing is thence rendered to the Prince per annum, nor do they make suit to either comot or hundred, nor pay reliefs nor amobr. And they say they are free to grind in their own houses; but they say that they owe appearance at two great turns of our lord Prince per annum for all other services. And in the second wele there are $3\frac{1}{2}$ bovates escheated, which the Communitas of this villa now holds. Summa per annum, vii.s.' ²

Legendary miracles in defence of immunities.

It is important to observe further in how many cases the miraculous stories attributed to the Welsh saints in the legends turn upon the necessity of constantly guarding this freedom of Church lands from ordinary obligations to the tribal chieftains. Thus, to take another example from the life of St. Beuno, the same Cynan, Prince of Powys, who had given him the golden rod, had also granted to St. Beuno a place called Gwydelwerun in Merionethshire, on which he had erected a church. But it happened that Cynan's

¹ Lives of Cambrian Saints, p. 16 and p. 304.

² Record of Carnarvon, p. 46.

nephews, in the ordinary course of a hunting expedition, came upon the land, and, according to tribal custom, claimed hospitality. St. Beuno acceded to their request and gave them a young ox for their meal; but, by a miracle, prevented the fire from boiling the meat, and afterwards cursed them for 'demanding tribute and service (mal ar dreth) from what their fathers had given to God free (yn ryd).' 1

Again, in the Life of St. Brynach,2 a saint of South Wales, who lived before the first visitation of the Yellow Death, i.e. before A.D. 547, a somewhat similar story is told. A certain chieftain named Clechro, with the concurrence of his sons, granted his land to St. Brynach, the sons becoming disciples of the saint and he himself retiring to Cornwall. Maelgun, coming that way with his retinue, demanded entertainment (cena). The saint, to preserve his rights, declined. Whereupon the king's servants seized upon a cow. But with all their efforts the fire would not cook the meat, and seeing the miracle the king humbly submitted, and after having partaken of the hospitality now freely offered by the saint, confirmed his privileges, and made a further grant of land according to the record in the following words. These evidently follow a common form, though by no means certainly of the sixth century :-

3 'In nomine Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi te [St. Brynach] et locum tuum totumque territorium ad locum tuum pertinens; necnon omnes in eo commanentes, ab omni regia exactione in perpetuum libero; insuper terram Thelych monachi ditioni tue liberam assigno: qui ergo contra hanc donationem meam de cetero venire presumserit Dei maledictionem omniumque fidelium Christi et meam celeriter incurrat.'

¹ Camb. Saints, pp. 15 and 302.

² Ib. p. 10, from Cotton MS.

Vesp. xiv. fol. 77, B.M.

³ Ib. p. 12, from same MS.

fol. 80.

The immunities granted to Llandaff.

Contemporary with St. Brynach was St. Teilo, the founder of the church of Llandaff, whose privileges are thus given in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' evidently following a later and elaborately worded common form framed to withdraw the Church property absolutely from secular or tribal control. Whatever its date, it none the less testifies to the completeness of the immunity claimed by the Church, and the sort of exactions to which property was otherwise liable under the tribal system.1

vholl cyfreith didi hac dy thir, hac di dair ryd o pop guasanaith breennin bydaul, heb mair, heb cyghellaur, heb cyhoith, dadl ma y meun gulat hac ny dieithyr, heb luyd heb gavayl, heb guylma:

v cyfreith idi yn hollaul, o leityr, o latrat, o treis, o dynnyorn o cynluyn hac o lose, o amryson canguayt a heb guayt, y diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn hollaul, o dorri nand ynnlann,

hac yn dieythyr lann, orachot ynn, luhyn, hac dieithyr luhyn, o cýrch ýpopmýnnic ar tir Teliau

hay guir hay braut dy lytu yruluys ygundig Teliau ynn Lanntaff.

To enjoy all its laws and its lands, and its territories free from all regal and secular service without mair, without canchyllor,

without attendance at courts of litigation

either in the district or out of it, without going on expeditions without arrest, without keeping watch and ward:

with complete legal cognizance, of thief, of theft, of violence, of slaying, of waylaying,

of incendiarism, and contention with blood and without it, with full right to fines and penal-

ties for crimes, of violating the privilege

either in or out of the precinct, of attack, secret or open,

of assaults anywhere on the land of Teilo,

and with its right and jurisdiction over its dependents at the White House of Teilo at Llandaff.

' No one who has any know- | ment believe that Geoffrey, or any

ledge of Old Welsh will for a mo- of his contemporaries, could have

Now, whatever may be thought of the authenticity or antiquity of these legendary origins of ecclesiastical property, and of its immunity from all census terrenus or census regalis, i.e. from tribute or food rents to secular chieftains, the contention that it ought to be thus free was quite consistent with the claims of the Gallic Church in the sixth and seventh claimed centuries.

CHAP. VII.

Immunity from all census terrenus early by the Church.

Amongst the canons included in the collection of so-called Irish canons, to which, however, Mr. Bradshaw assigned a Breton origin, is one headed 'De censu non dando super ecclesiam,' and St. Augustine is quoted: 'si ipsi filii liberi sunt a censu in quolibet regno terreno, quanto magis filii regni illius, sub quo sunt omnia terrena regna.' And St. Ambrose is quoted as saying: 'Ecclesia catholica libera est ab omni censu.' 1

The phraseology of these passages coincides closely with that of the legendary donations.

But it is possible that the grant to St. Teilo went exceptionally far. It not only gave immunity from all census terrenus, but transferred judicial jurisdiction from the brenhin, or king, to the bishop. The general immunity according to the Codes did not Limited in always go so far as this. Thus, in the Venedotian Code is the following statement:-

the Codes.

'No land is to be without a brenhin (dijurenhijn). If it be abbey land he [the brenhin] is to have (if they be laics) dirwy and camlwrw and amobyr and ebediw and hosts (lloyd) and theft (lledrat). If it be bishop's land he is to have hosts and theft. If it be hospital land he is to have theft and fighting (ymlad), and therefore there is no land without him.' 2

written the Welsh of Teilo's "Privilegium" or of the boundaries.' Book of Llan Dav (preface),

p. xxii and p. 120.

¹ Wasserschleben, p. 79.

² Venedotian Code, II. xii. 8.

But admitted completely on the conquest of N. Wales.

It may well be that the tribal chieftain of the time of Howel had become jealous of ecclesiastical encroachments, and did not willingly acquiesce in the admission of the absolute immunity claimed by the Church in the sixth century. Certain it is, however, that nothing could be more complete than the royal admission of absolute immunity to the successors of St. Beuno and the collegiate church of Clynnoc immediately after the conquest. No stronger words could be used than those of the royal confirmatory charter of Edward I. above alluded to. It recited and confirmed the royal gift to St. Beuno with immunities as complete 'as though it were an island in the midst of the sea' (sicut insula in medio maris).

It is also a remarkable feature of the Denbigh extent that among the names of the numerous villatæ belonging to the honour or lordship there are scarcely any with the common prefix Llan, the fact being that the lordship was honeycombed with ecclesiastical 'islands' of the kind mentioned, over which the secular lordship had no jurisdiction.

In the same way the Extents comprised in the 'Record of Carnarvon' are full of *lacunæ*, to be filled up only by adding the 'islands' of ecclesiastical territory.

II. THE NATURE OF THE EARLY RECORDS OF DONATIONS
TO THE CHURCH.

If the records of donations to the Church were of only ecclesiastical interest, it might be left to the ecclesiastical historian to examine them in detail.

But, as they contain the earliest evidence within

reach of the actions and habits and character of Cymric chieftains, they cannot be wholly ignored in an attempt to understand the Cymric tribal system.

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First contact of Cymric chieftains with the churches.

Any real evidence dating back to the first contact of the successors of Cunedda with the saints of the sixth century, if contemporary, must needs bristle with incidental details which cannot fail to be precious in the absence of more direct evidence.

Therefore, both as regards the relations between the tribal system and the Church, and as regards the tribal system itself, the attempt must be made to form a sound judgment upon the difficult question of their authenticity.

They suffer from their connection with the legends of the miraculous lives of the saints to whose churches they were made, and from the suspicion of interested motives in the scribes of the twelfth century, by whom they were collected and copied, and perhaps in some cases forged.

There is, no doubt, ground for suspicion and caution. But this is quite another thing from wholesale rejection.

Part of the difficulty disappears when the records Nature of are approached as they evidently ought to be, not as charters, but as simple notes or records of transac-They seldom, if ever, profess to be documents made by and under the signature of the transdonors. They are mostly expressed in the third person, and profess to record solemn acts and to state who were the witnesses before whom they were transacted. When it is observed that the first of the witnesses may be 'Deus omnipotens,' or the saint, long at rest, at whose altar the transaction took

the early records of donations; not charters but notes of actions.

Sometimes written in the margin of Gospels, place, the character of the record becomes at once apparent.

When the record was written in the margin of a richly illuminated copy of the 'Gospels,' as was often the case, it becomes all the more obvious that we are not dealing with charters in the ordinary sense, but with acts done under solemn religious sanctions and placed under the protection of the altar at which the transaction took place.

and, as in the 'Book of Deer,' copied from one book to another. Several such records were written, for instance, in the 'Book of Deer' in the vernacular Gaelic of Scotland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This copy of the Gospels does not claim to have been itself written before the ninth century, but the first of the entries, probably made in the eleventh century, is the record of the original foundation of the monastery in the sixth century.

Thus it appears that if a sacred copy of the Gospel came into the possession of an abbey at a certain date there would be no inconsistency in the records originally made in a copy earlier in use being transferred to it by a copyist. So in the 'Book of Deer' the initial entry and the records of several of the earlier grants are all in one handwriting, and were written probably at the same time.¹

And thus may be modified without fraud.

Obviously, therefore, it is by no means certain that there is fraud wherever the language or handwriting of an entry betrays that it is not contemporary. And, further, it was obviously so much easier a thing to modify an existing entry for a purpose in transcribing it than to forge an entirely new docu-

¹ Book of Deer, Mr. Stuart's preface, p. xxv.

ment that there might be fraudulent alteration without material departure from the original form of the record.

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There is another point of negative evidence in favour of the substantial correctness of the records of donations in the margins of Gospels, or presumably copied from them.

In the legendary lives of Welsh saints it often Remarkhappens, as in the two cases above alluded to, that from a miraculous story is the prelude to a record of miracles. donation which follows a legal formula, and makes no mention of the miracle. When this is the case the inference is natural that the formal record gave rise to the legend rather than the legend to the record.

As we proceed to examine some of these records, it will be recognised that, while they are full of little archaic touches, belonging to a very early period, they are almost entirely free from the miraculous elements which are rampant in the twelfth century legendary lives of the saints to whose monasteries the donations were made.

III. THE MS. ENTRIES IN THE 'BOOK OF ST. CHAD.'

The illuminated Gospel, called the 'Book of St. Ninth cen-Chad, was, according to Mr. Bradshaw, transferred in the to St. Chad's Church, at Lichfield, before 964-973, St. Chad. because it bears the signature of Wynsige, Bishop of Lichfield, whose episcopacy covered those years.1

tury entry

The earliest entry was evidently made whilst the book itself was in possession of St. Teilo's Church, at Llandaff. The handwriting of the entry was con-

¹ Collected Papers, p. 459.

CHAP.

sidered by Mr. Bradshaw to belong to the early part of the ninth century. It is as follows:—

'Ostenditur hie quod emit + gelhi + filius ariht iud hoe evangelium de cingal et dedit illi proillo equum optimum et dedit pro anima sua istum evangelium deo et sancto teliaui super altare. + Gelhi + filius aryht iud . . . et + cincenn + filius gripiud.' ¹ 'Here is shown that Gelhi the son of Ariht iud bought this gospel from Cingal and gave to him for it a "best horse," and gave for his soul this gospel to God and St. Teilo upon the altar. + Gelhi, son of Aryht iud . . . et Cincenn the son of Gripiud.'

Further entry.

The next entry carries us a step further, in that it shows that Elcu, the son of Gelhi, was in possession of a property called the land of Telih.

'Surexit tutbulc filius liuit ha gener tutri dierchim Tir Telih haioid ilau eleu filius gelhig haluidt juguret amgucant pel amtanndi ho diued diprotant gener tutri o guir imguodant ir degion guragun tage rodesit eleu guetig equs tres uache, tres uache nouidligi namin ir ni be câs igridu dimedichat guetig bit did braut grefiat guetig nis minn tutbulc hai cenetl in ois oisoud.

'+ teliau testis gurgint testis cynhilinn testis sp's testis tota familia teliaui. De laicis numin map aidan testis, signou map jacou testis berthutis testis cinda testis.

'Quicunque custodierit benedictus erit, quicunque frangerit maledictus erit.' 2

'Tutbulc, the son of Liuit, and son in law of Tudri, arose to claim the land of TELIH which was in the possession of Elcu the son of Gelhi and the tribe of Juguret: he complained long about it: at last they dispossess the son-inlaw of Tudri of his right. nobles said to one another, "Let us make peace": Elcu gave afterwards a horse, three cows, three newly calved cows, provided only there be no hostility between them from this reconciliation thenceforward to the day of doom. Tutbulc and his people will require afterwards no title for ever and ever. . . .

'Whoever shall keep his shall be blessed, whoever shall break it shall be cursed.'

writing tenth century. The two Gelhis may nevertheless be the same person, as the second record may have been written after the transaction.

Book of Llan Dav, preface p. xliii.

² *Ibid.* p. xliii, where also the accompanying somewhat tentative translation is given. Mr. Bradshaw considered the hand-

This record connects the family of Elcu, son of Gelhi, who bought the Gospel from Cyngal (?), with the family of Tutbulc, the son of Liuit, and the dispute between the two families related to the land of Telih; but there is nothing to show that the land of Telih belonged to Llandaff.

But, in the 'Book of Llan Day' there is a record Coinciconfirming to Llandaff the ownership of the Cella with the Cynqualan, in Gower, which it states had belonged to 'Book of St. Dubricius and St. Oudoceus, but had been lost in the first visitation of the 'Yellow Death.'

Llan Day.'

And there is also another record of about A.D. 929,2 which states that grifud rex, filius jugein, to make amends, inter alia, for a violation of the refuge of the monastery of St. Cingual, granted to Llandaff, Penn ibei in Rosulgen (i.e. Rosilli in Gower). And in the boundaries appended to the donation, the land thus granted is described as touching in one place 'usque ad agrum cinquali,' and in another a modius of land 'juxta telich.' 3

This tenth-century record of the boundaries thus shows that the monastery or cell of St. Cingual was adjoining to Telich, and that both were in the peninsula of Gower, adjoining Rossilli. This proximity suggests that Gelhi may have bought the Gospel from the monastery of St. Cingual, and given it to St. Teilo, at Llandaff, as it was afterwards transferred from Llandaff to St. Chad, at Lichfield.

In the very next record in the 'Book of Llan Day.'4 probably of between A.D. 961 and 967 (in the reign of King Edgar), Morgan Hen. King of Glamorgan.

¹ Book of Llan Dav, p. 144.

² Ib. p. 239.

³ P. 240.

described as 'Morcant, son of yugein,' is said to restore and confirm to Llandaff all the territories which had belonged to it in the time of St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Oudoceus, naming certain churches and their territories. Amongst these is 'Machumur, i.e. Lann Liuit,' and in its boundaries occur the words 'across to Is Guaissaf, of liquallaun, the son of Tutbulch.'

These boundaries connect the land of *Lann Livit* with *Tutbulc*. This, again, is an incidental corrobo ration of the entries in the 'Book of St. Chad,' where Tutbulc is said to be the son of Liuit.

Record of an emancipation by four brothers.

The next three records, written in the 'Book of St. Chad,' are of more direct interest. They are roughly dated by the mention of Nobis,¹ Bishop of Llandaff, who was translated to St. David's, A.D. 840. The first is a manumission by four brothers of one Blethiud, the son of Sulgen, et semini suo in sempiternum, on payment of four pounds (or, possibly, four cows), and eight ounces, presumably, of silver.²

This is interesting, as a ninth-century example of a case resembling that of St. Patrick, viz. of the family ownership of slaves, or of *aillts*, or *taeogs*, and of the emancipation of a whole stock or family, like that already quoted, of a *gwely* of *nativi* by the Bishop of St. Asaph.

It is imperfect, but it is supposed to read thus:-

Nobis . necesse est scribere literas quod IIII filii bledri gu[or ti]girnn [cim]ulch et . . . arthuis dederunt libertatem bleidiud filio

silver, and the worth of a bondman was one pound in the Codes. The final letters, 'as,' are the only letters remaining, the margin of the record being injured.

¹ Mr. Bradshaw's Collected Papers, p. 460. Nobis is described by Asser, in his Life of Alfred, as his propinguus.

² Four cows = one pound of

sulgen et semini suo in sempiternum pro precio, atque hoc est [confirmatio] quod dedit pro libertate ejus quatuor [libr]as [or vaccas] et oc[to u]ncias. Coram idoneis [his t]estibus:

DE LAICIS Riguo[llau]n filius [coff]ro guen . . . filius . . . r guoluic filius . . . dan Ov . . . filius guur [cinn] im . mer[chgu]inn filius salus arthan filius cimulch judri filius judnerth.

De clericis vero Nobis episcopus teiliav saturnguid sacerdos teiliav. Dubrino et cuhelin filius episcopis, saturnbiu cam ibiav et sulgen scholasticus qui hec fideliter scripsit . . . Qui custodierit,

etc.

The other two are records of ninth-century donations, of a *tref* with a *census* or food-rent.

The items of this census were:—In the first case, two score loaves and a wether in the summer and two score loaves and a sow and two score sucking pigs in winter; in the second case, three score loaves and a wether and a vessel of butter—thus resembling the summer and winter dawn-bwyds of the taeog trefs of the Codes, though not absolutely identical in all the details, and taking back the system of food-rents a century earlier than the Codes.

The records are difficult, both in the reading of the manuscript entries, and in translation; but, as interpreted in Mr. Evans's edition of the 'Book of Llan Dav,' sufficiently intelligible for the present purpose.¹

Ostendit ista scriptio quod dederunt ris et luith grethi treb guidauc imalitiduch cimarguith-[i]eit, hic est census ejus. douceint torth ha maharuin. in irham. ha douceint torth in irgaem. ha huch. ha [do]uceint mannuclenn. deo et sancto eliudo. deus testis.

This writing shows that Ris and Luith Grethi gave Tref-guidauc. As story tellers say, this is its census, two score loaves and a wether in the summer, and two score loaves in the winter, and a sow and two score sucking pigs, to God and St. Eliud. God witness,

VII.

Two donations of ninth century with foodrents.

saturnnguid testis . nobis testis . guurci testis cutulf testis . de laicis cinguernn testis . collbiu testis . cohorget testis . ermin testis . . . hourod testis . quicunque custodierit benedictus erit et qui franxerit maledictus erit a deo.

Saturnguid witness, Nobis witness, Guurci witness, Cutulf witness. Of the laity, Cinguernn witness, Collbiu witness, Cohorget Ermin witness, Hourod witness, Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed and whoever shall break it shall be cursed of God.

Osdendit ista conscriptio quod dederunt ris hahir ha . . rdid ha gurci . r g eibracma . behet hirmain guidauc . ofoid celli irlath . behet cam dubr . isem hichet triuceint torth . h[a maha] ruin . ha guorthoueir emeninn . . deus omnipotens testis . saturnnguid sacerdos testis . nobis testis . gurci testis . cutulf testis . de laicis . cinguern testis . [collbiu] testis . cohorget [testis] . ermin testis . [quicunque custo] dierit [bene] dictu[s erit . et] qui fra[nxer] it . m[aledic] tus . er[it . a deo].

This writing shows that Ris &c...gave...Guidauc... as far as ... its tribute three score loaves and a wether and ... butter. God Almighty witness, Saturnguid priest witness, Nobis witness, Gurci witness, Cutulf witness. Of the laity: Cinquern witness, [Collbiu] witness, Cohorget [witness], Ermin witness. Whosoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever breaks it shall be cursed by God.

There can be no reason to doubt for one moment the authenticity of these records written on the margins of the Gospel of St. Chad, and they are important not only in their subject-matter but also as a link in the chain of evidence as regards the practical authenticity of the records of earlier donations.

IV. THE EVIDENCE OF GILDAS.

Maelgwn's conquest of S. Wales. None of the records in the 'Book of St. Chad' are of very early date; but they clear the ground for the consideration of the many donations to churches in South Wales, which so far as the transactions recorded are concerned, refer to the period immediately

succeeding the Cymric conquest of South Wales by Maelgwn.

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Maelown is said to have died in the first visita- Yellow tion of the Yellow Death, i.e. about A.D. 547. This date is approximately fixed by the mention of its ravages, both in Irish and Welsh records.1

Death, A.D. 547.

Many of the early donations to churches in South Wales are recorded in the 'Book of Llan Day,' St. Dubricius and St. Teilo being the reputed founders of that see. The witnesses to many of these records are the abbots, or heads, as well as members of the three monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Monas-Dogwin, who appear thus to be in close connection, St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, both geographically and spiritually, with the Church or Bishopric of Llandaff.

and St. Dogwin.

Besides the records of donations in the 'Book of Llan Day' are others still more remarkable appended to the legendary life of St. Cadoc, in a twelfth-century MS. in the British Museum,2 printed, though very incorrectly, in Rees's 'Lives of Cambro-British Saints.

Whether the records were contemporary or not, Donations all the donations to St. Cadoc belong, so far as the Cadoc. subject-matter is concerned, to the time preceding and following the first occurrence of the Yellow Death (A.D. 547).

> porary Gildas.

This is precisely the period as regards which Contemthere exists the contemporary evidence of Gildas. with Whatever facts, therefore, can be extracted from

¹ See Zimmer's Nennius Vindicatus, p. 101, quoting from the Ulster Annals, A.D. 545-548 for the appearance of the 'mortalitas

magna ' in Ireland. The Annales Cambriæ give the date A.D. 547.

² Cotton MS., Vesp. A. xiv. Brit. Mus.

Civil wars of British

chieftains.

his 'turgid rhetoric' ought to throw light on the donations—the authenticity of both being granted.

That Christianity had been introduced from Gaul during the Roman period there can be no doubt. And the lamentations of Gildas, for what they are worth, are evidence of the condition of things during the century following the Roman withdrawal from Britain and the struggle with the Saxon invaders. Coincident with the Roman withdrawal was the coming of Cunedda and his sons in North Wales, and Gildas wrote during the Cymric conquest of South Wales under Maelgwn. The decay of the Roman peace in Britain, succeeded by the breaking up of the united action of British chieftains when the stress of resistance to the Saxons was over, had resulted, according to Gildas, in civil wars. These wars were, moreover, quarrels between nominally Christian rulers.

That Gildas wrote his lamentations like a Hebrew prophet in declamatory and stilted language may be granted, but in the main he doubtless 'did well to be angry,' and it is impossible to believe that, writing in this spirit, he should not have alluded to the coming of the Yellow Death as a scourge from heaven if it were either past or present when he wrote. Further than this, his diatribe against Maelgwn himself, who died of that plague, seems to prove that Gildas wrote before its ominous

date.

wrote before the Yellow Death.

Gildas

In an undoubtedly confused passage Gildas speaks of the battle of Mons Badonis as having occurred in the first month of the forty-fourth year of his own age?], and as marking the close of the struggle against the invading Saxons. A considerable time must have elapsed since that date to account for his adding-

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'And yet not even now are the cities reinhabited, but, deserted and destroyed, they lie waste to this day, an end having come to external wars, but not indeed to civil wars.' 1

Evidently the writer was now an old man, for he An old speaks of the generation which had experienced the he wrote. 'terrible desolation' as having departed, and of a new generation as having risen up. Again, in his preface, he speaks of having delayed his epistle ten years or more, and describes himself as now at last discharging his debt long ago due,2 constrained by the entreaties of his brethren, in a style which he admits to be severe against evil-doers, but, nevertheless, 'faithful and friendly to all young soldiers of Christ' (Christi tyronibus).

The dates are doubtful, but even if 43 in A.D. 516 (the date of the battle of Badon Hill according to the Annales Cambrice), Gildas, having previously written his work, would be 74 at the time of the Yellow Death (A.D. 547). And having survived its visitation he may possibly have lived to ninetyeight at his retreat in the bay of Morbihan, where he is said to have died, A.D. 570, according to the Died Annales Cambrice.3

A.D. 570.

¹ Hist. Gildæ, c. xxvi.

² 'Debitum multo tempore antea exactum.'

³ It is quite true that Bede read the passage referring to the battle on Mons Badonis as stating that it occurred in the

forty-fourth year from the arrival of the Saxons, but the event last mentioned by Gildas was the leadership of Ambrosius, to which his 'Ex eo tempore' may refer and from which his forty-three years may have run, thus making

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The main point is that the evidence of Gildas was contemporary with the sixth-century donations, and its value consists in the light it throws upon the contact of the tribal chieftains with the Church in the most Romanised part of Britain still left to the Britons.

Roman names of British chieftains. That the British chieftains of the older (probably Goidelic 1) race had acquired, to say the least, a Roman varnish which still lingered in their names, is shown in the mention by Gildas of Constantine of Dumnonia and Aurelius Conanus (probably of Powys).

Many overthrown by Maelgwn. That even Cunedda himself was to some extent Romanised may well be believed, but that Cunedda's invasion was a Cymric tribal migration seems equally clear. The conquest of Maelgwn in the south, depriving many of the older chieftains, as Gildas puts it, 'of their kingdoms and their lives,'

the date of his birth A.D. 473. Bede may have put a wrong construction on the passage as we have it. Recent writers have indeed assumed that he did so, but to fall themselves, as it would seem, into a greater difficulty, by reading the passage as meaning that Gildas was writing in the fortyfourth year of his age, having been born in the year of the battle. This can hardly be a correct reading, for in the first place if only forty-four when he wrote, he could hardly have assumed so completely the tone of an old man, and in the next place forty-four years from the

battle (516 + 44) would make the date of his writing A.D. 560, which is an impossible date, as it would be after the Yellow Death, and Maelgwn would by that time have been ten years in his grave. Thus it seems possible to adhere to the dates of the Annales Cambriæ after all, as consistent with the facts.

The inscriptions of the Roman and post-Roman period, both Latin and bilingual, in Roman letters and in Oghams, are, according to Professor Rhys, mainly Goidelic, if the test word mac instead of map may be trusted.

was an extension of the same tribal invasion. Roman civilisation, we may believe, no longer softened the character of the great-grandsons of Cunedda. The crimes which Gildas deplored were the crimes of the Crimes of old tribal nature cropping up again—gross crimes of chieftains murder and incest—deepened in his view by the and their submisfact that they were the crimes of chieftains who, sion to in childish superstition and the blind impulse of Church. remorse, had professed Christian conversion and become children of the Church.

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Gildas represents these chieftains and their relations as entering the monasteries and submitting to penances and penalties, and then breaking out again into crime.

The sister of the wife of Cuneglasse, according to Gildas, had taken the vow of holy virginity. And Maelgwn himself not only had been under Christian Maelgwn's training, but also, in a moment of remorse after vow soon crime, had taken the monastic vow before he committed the fresh crimes of murder and incest of which Gildas accused him

The Church had evidently set itself to convert these tribal chieftains, and they or members of their families rushed into her offices and assumed her dignities. This is contemporary evidence, and at least lends some colour to the genealogies which make the chief saints of South Wales-St. David, St. Cymric Teilo, and St. Dubricius—closely allied in blood with the royal family of Cunedda and his descendants.

Nor is Gildas silent on the ecclesiastical side of these transactions.

When he feels himself bound to speak of the 'malitice episcoporum vel cæterorum sacerdotum aut CHAP.

clericorum in nostro quoque ordine,' and accuses Constantine, King of the Dumnonii, of the murder of royal youths with sword and javelin at the very altar under shadow of the abbot's cloak, his evidence is good that there were bishops and abbots, as well as priests and monks of his own order, in the monasteries and churches of South Wales and Britain.

Ecclesiastical abuses blamed by Gildas. Nor can it be possible to disregard the nature of the ecclesiastical sins deplored, however much his language may bear the impress of exaggeration. The worldliness and sensuality of clerks neglecting spiritual duties; the simony of both priests and bishops buying their ecclesiastical dignities from tyrannical princes, or crossing the seas and travelling far to obtain them, and returning with foolish ostentation and pomp; the apathy and want of courage in the better class of clergy in standing out against the evil of others and imposing the proper penances on them for their sins—all this as the evidence of an eyewitness is helpful in judging of the records of transactions belonging to the same period.

V. THE FORM OF CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

Form of sixth-century Continental records.

The direct and contemporary evidence of Gildas has brought us into the atmosphere in which the transactions recorded in the records of sixth-century donations, if authentic, took place.

The question of the authenticity of the records themselves may be approached from another point of view, viz. that of a comparison of their form as documents, and the formalities by which the donations themselves are described as accompanied, with the forms and formalities in use during the same period on the Continent.

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The Cymric tribal system was not the only one with which, on the break up of the Roman Government, the ecclesiastical system had to deal.

Romanised as the Church itself was, its influences ponations must needs have been to a large extent Roman, and to the Church in the Roman provinces of Gaulit evidently continued under Merovinto follow and to represent Roman legal forms and gian rule. principles in its action under Merovingian and even later rulers. And this was so in a modified sense even in its contact with the less Romanised tribes which fell under its influence—tribes who still adhered more or less to tribal custom. It is quite obvious that in the formation of the Alamannic and Bavarian Codes of the seventh century ecclesiastical influence was a strong factor. Not only had local custom to be codified, as in the case of the Welsh Codes, but a modus vivendi had to be found for the Church. The Codes, therefore, disclose the methods adopted by the ecclesiastics under Merovingian rule in securing the interests and property of the Church in districts newly conquered by the Franks.

These districts on the borders of Gaul had more or less, like Britain, been under the provincial rule of Rome. They therefore present many analogies with the most Romanised portions of South Wales. Hence there is at least some probability that the Church would use the same legal forms and methods in the one district as in the other. Why not? Especially in the case of donations to churches and monasteries, the monks were as likely to impose their own technical methods and legal formulæ in

South Wales as in Gaul, and in the Alamannic and Bavarian districts. Happily the Cadoc and Llandaff records of donations can be compared with the Continental methods, and the comparison is the best direct test to which their genuineness can be put.

What, then, were the methods described in the Alamannic and Bavarian codes as regards these donations?

The Leges Alamannorum Hlotharii are considered to belong to the reign of the second prince of that name, A.D. 613-622.

The first clause is as follows 1:—

The Alamannic Laws allow donations and fix their forms.

Ut si quis liber res suas vel semetipsum ad ecclesiam tradere voluerit, nullus habeat licentiam contradicere ei, non dux non comes nec ulla persona sed spontanea voluntate liceat christiano homini Deo servire et de proprias res suas semetipsum redemere. Et qui voluerit hoc facere per cartam de rebus suis ad ecclesiam, ubi dare voluerit, firmitatem faciat, et testes sex vel septem adhibeat, et nomina eorum ipsa carta contineat, et coram sacerdote qui ad ecclesiam deservit super altare ponat, et proprietas de ipsas res ad illam ecclesiam in perpetuo permaneat.

That if any freeman wishes to hand over his property or his own person to the Church, no one shall have license to thwart him. neither duke nor count nor any person, but of his own free will it shall be lawful for a Christian man to serve God and to redeem himself with his own property. And whoever wishes to do this shall confirm by charter what he wishes to give of his property to the Church, and shall produce six or seven witnesses, and the charter shall contain their names, and in the presence of the priest who serves at the church he shall place it upon the altar, and the property in those things shall remain for ever to that church.

The point of this enactment is to allow freemen, subject to Roman law, to make donations to the Church, and it prescribes the form in which it is to be done by charter, naming the witnesses, the donor in presence of the priest placing the charter on the altar.

¹ Pertz, Legum iii. p. 45; and Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges Alamannorum, p. 63.

The Bavarian laws have the same provision, but also define what the donor may give, viz. de portione sua postquam cum filis suis partivit—his own portion Also the after division with his sons—according to the pro- Laws. visions of the Roman law. The outward formality is required that the witnesses should place their hands upon the epistola, which is then to be placed on the altar. The subject of the donation was thenceforth to remain the absolute property of the Church, and neither the donor nor his sons could disturb it unless the representative of the Church should choose to allow the donor to hold it as a benefice.1

Bavarian

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This last clause brings before us another very common feature of early donations, which is more fully described in the following passage from the Alamannic laws, viz. the custom to allow the donor benefice to retain the use of the property granted to the Church by way of usufruct, paying the census of the land in the meantime to the Church.

Retention by the donor of the usufruct as a paying a census.

Si quis liber qui res suas ad ecclesiam dederit et per cartam firmitatem fecerit sicut superius dictum est, et post hæc a pastore ecclesiæ per beneficium susceperit ad victualem necessitatem conquirendam diebus vitæ suæ: et quod spondit persolvat ad ecclesiam censum de illa terra, et hoc per epistulam firmitatis fiat, ut post ejus discessum nullus de heredibus non contradicat.2

If any freeman who shall have given his property to the Church and confirmed it by charter as before said, and afterwards shall have received it as a benefice from the pastor of the Church as a provision for his bodily needs for the days of his life, let him pay what he has promised to the Church as census from that land, and let this be done by a letter of confirmation, in order that after his decease none of his heirs shall gainsay it.

^{1 &#}x27;Nisi defensor ecclesiæ ipsius beneficium præstare voluerit ei.' Title 1, c. 1, Pertz, Legum iii. p. 270.

² Pertz, Legum iii. p. 45; and Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges Alamannorum, p. 66. E, Cod. B.

Donations of this kind, reserving the usufruct to the donor as a *beneficium* or *precaria*, are of very common occurrence among those made to the Abbot of St. Gall in the eighth century.¹

Roman law also permitted a donation with a simple reservation of the usufruct.² And that in the sixth century it was a common thing for a donor to make a donation retaining the usufruct is shown by the mention of it in the Rules of St. Benedict:—

Sanctioned by the Rules of St. Benedict. 'If they wish to offer something to the monastery for their salvation, they shall make a donation of the things which they wish to give to the monastery: retaining the usufruct for themselves, if they wish.' 3

Hence there were donations of two kinds: (1) those in which the property given was occupied by tenants paying a census and transferred to the Church, in which case the Church obtained the property and received the census; (2) those in which the donor, who might be also the occupant, retained the usufruct and paid the census to the Church. And instances of both kinds occur among the Cadoc donations.

The census fixed by custom.

Moreover, the *census* seems to have been in these cases a fixed customary food-rent. Whether on the *terra regis* or on the land of the Church there were two classes of tenants paying their legitimate *census* or *tributum* to the king or to the Church—*liberi* and *servi*.

¹ Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen (Wartmann), Theil i., Nos. 3, 10, 17, 18, &c.

² Dig. Just. vii. 1; and Codex, viii. 53, De Donationibus; and

Cod. Theod. viii. 12; and Gaius, ii. 33.

³ Rule 59, 'reservato sibi, si ita voluerint usufructuario.'

Thus, in the Alamannic laws it is enacted as follows :--

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Liberi autem ecclesiastici, quos colonos vocant, omnes, sicut et coloni Regis, ita reddant ad ecclesiam.1

XXII

Servi enim ecclesiæ tributa sua legitime reddant, quindecim siclas de cervisa, porcum valentem tremisse uno, panem modia duo, pullos quinque, ova viginti.

Freemen of the Church, who are called coloni, all shall render to the Church just as coloni of the king do.

XXII

Let the servi of the Church render their tribute according to law, fifteen siclæ of beer, a pig worth a tremissis, two modii of bread, five hens and twenty eggs.

So that the law laid down actually what the The legitimate or normal tribute or census of the unfree census class of tenants, called servi, consisted of-viz. fifteen siclæ of beer, a pig worth a tremissis,2 two of beer, modii of bread, five hens, and twenty eggs.

of serrus 15 siclæ

That this census of the typical servile holding was adhered to in the Alamannic district in the eighth century is proved by the very frequent occurrence of it and its double in the donations to St. Gall.3 And it seems to have extended down the Rhine valley as a common usage.4

It was natural that the ecclesiastics should introduce their own Continental methods into the Romanised districts of South Wales. The Church was already more or less established in these districts, even in Roman times, and when it first came into contact with the conquering Cymric chieftains tribal and ecclesiastical methods must have come to some compromise.

¹ Tit. xxiii.

² The tremissis = 32 wheat grains weight of gold.

³ Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen, Nos. 17, 18, 24, 33, &c.

⁴ See Codex Laureshamensis Diplomaticus, iii. pp. 177 et seq., where there are numerous cases of hubæ serviles, with a census of 'situlæ xv de cervisa, &c.'

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VII.

Compromise in Wales between tribal rules and the legal methods of the ecclesias-ties.

The donations in Wales were made, for the most part, by tribal chieftains, whose possessions were subject to the tribal custom of tir queliawc. On the donor's side, therefore, tribal custom and habits, and not Roman law, must needs rule the form of the donation. Even a chieftain could not alienate family property without the consent of other members of his family. But, on the side of the Church, the recipients of the donation—the ecclesiastics—would bring their own forms and formulæ with them. They would insist that there must be the written charter with its witnesses. They would introduce the formal act of delivery by placing the writing on the altar or on the Gospels. If the transaction did not take place in a church, some other formality would be required. The placing of the writing upon the hand of the recipient, as we shall see, was the actual form most often adopted.

The transfer of a property, the food-rent or census of which had hitherto been paid to the donor or the chieftain, must here as elsewhere have meant the transfer to the donee of the right to receive the settled food-rent of that holding. The donation of a holding by the occupant, who desired still to retain the occupation, would here as elsewhere mean his payment of his food-rent to the Church instead of to his chieftain, and therefore would require his chieftain's consent. Such transactions would be certain to be mixed up with little archaic points of detail fitted to the time and locality; and, lastly, authentic records of donations would be hardly likely to make mention of miracles!

If on examination these various conditions are

found to be complied with, the reader will be able to judge how far it is probable that the records to which attention will now be turned, whether contemporary with the donations or not, were forgeries of a later hand, however cunningly desirous to aggrandise the episcopal see to which he might belong. And, at the same time, if substantially authentic, the reader will not fail to appreciate the value of the light they throw on the earlier conditions of tribal life.

VI. THE EARLY RECORDS OF DONATIONS IN THE BOOK OF LLAN DAV.

Returning, then, to the 'Book of Llan Dav,' St. Dubricius and his companions may well have been among the 'vouthful soldiers of Christ' to whom Gildas alluded.

The legend describes Dubricius as embracing Disciples among his disciples the following, viz.:—Teilo, ot St. Dubricius Samson, Ubeluius, Merchguinus, Elguoredus, placed in charge of Gunuinus, Congual, Arthbodu, Congur, Arguistil, churches Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elheharn, Judnou, founded. Guordocui, Guernabui, Louan, Aidan, Cinuarch.1

These, with many others, are represented as living together in a kind of college, and afterwards as located in smaller groups in charge of churches as they were founded. The smaller groups formed thus little collegiate and missionary centres, whilst remaining in close communion and intercourse.2

Now, the 'Book of Llan Day' records nine donations presumptively made to St. Dubricius during his

¹ Book of Llan Dav, p. 80.

lifetime, the witnesses to which generally include some of the above-mentioned disciples.

The first of these donations is as follows:—

Donation of son-inlaw of Constantine. Lann Custenhinn garth benni in Ercicg.

Sciendum est nobis quod Peipiau, rex filius erb . largitus est mainaur garth benni usque ad paludem nigrum inter siluam et campum et aquam et jaculum Constantini regis socri sui trans Guy amnem deo et Dubricio archiepiscopo sedis landauie . et junapeio consobrino suo pro anima sua proscriptione et nominis sui in libro uite cum omni sua libertate sine ullo sensu terreno et principatu paruo et modico nisi deo et sancto Dubricio seruientibus ecclesie Landauie in perpetuo tenuitque peipiau grafium super manum Dubricii sancti ut domus orationis et penitentie atque episcopalis locus in eternum fieret episcopis landauie et in testimonio, relictis ibi tribus discipulis suis ecclesiam illam consecrauit . De clericis testes sunt in primo Dubricius, Arguistil, Vbeluiu. Jouann, Junapius, Conuran, goruan. De laicis uero Peipiau rex testis, Custenhin, Guourir, dihirue, Condiuill, guidgol, clem. Quicunque custodierit hanc elemosinam deo datam . custodiat illum deus, qui autem non seruauerit, destruat illum dens.1

The Church of Garth benni of Constantine in Erging.

Be it known to us that Peipiau. son of Erb, bestowed Mainaur Garth benni, up to the black marsh with wood, field, and water, and the casting-net of King Constantine, his father-in-law. across the River Wye, to God and Dubricius, Archbishop of Llandaff, and to Junapeius his own cousin, for his soul, and for the writing of his name in the Book of Life, with all its liberty without any earthly census and sovereignty smaller or greater except God and St. Dubricius, and the servants of the Church at Llandaff for ever. And Peipiau held the writing upon the hand of St. Dubricius in order that it might be for ever a house of prayer and penitence, and bishop's place for the Bishops of Llandaff. And in testimony leaving three of his disciples there, he consecrated that church. Of the clergy are witnesses, first Dubricius. Arguistil, Ubeluiu. Jonaun. Junapius, Conuran, Goruan. And of the laity Peipiau, king, is witness, Custenhin, Guourir, Dihiruc, Condiuill, Guidgol, Clem. Whosoever shall guard this alms given to God, God guard Whose however shall not keep it, may God destroy him.

Now this is the record of a donation by Peipiau, son of Erb, king of Gwent and Erging, and son-in-law (socer) of Constantine, of a mainaur called the

Garthbenni of Custenhin—i.e. of Constantine. The donation is made to St. Dubricius and his cousin and disciple Junapeius, for the good of the donor's soul, and that his name might be written in the Book of Life, and it was to be held free from all secular tribute (census terrenus) for ever.

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Perhaps it would be going too far to connect this Possibly King Custenhin with the Constantine, king of the the Constantine Dumnonii, who, as already mentioned, was reproved by Gide by Gildas for having slain at the altar two royal youths in the very year in which he was writing. At all events, this would be consistent with the entry in the Annales Cambria, A.D. 589, ' Conversio Constantini ad Dominum,' and the tradition that he became a saint.

by Gildas.

Recurring to the phraseology of the record, the Form of peculiarity in the form of delivery is worth notice, as the only case in which, in the 'Book of Llan Day,' the writing is held by the donor upon the hand (super manum) of the ecclesiastical recipient.

Had the ceremony of delivery been completed in the church after the consecration, it would probably have been performed at the altar; but it could not be so in this case, as it preceded the consecration.

In another case Erb, the father of the last-men- Hand tioned donor, makes a donation of unam tellurem de Gospels. propria sua hereditate, and in confirmation misit manum super quattuor evangelia tenente beato Dubricio cum predicta tellure.1

In another case two donors, before all the witnesses, posuerunt hanc dotem super quattuor evangelia in perpetuo, &c.2

Another record testifies that, in primo tempore, Noe,¹ the son of Arthur, gave to God and St. Dubricius Pennalum, Lann Maur on the Tyvi, and another site on the river Tam—mittens² noe manum super quatuor evangelia et commendans in manu archiepiscopi Dubricii hanc elemosinam in perpetuo, &c.—the witnesses again being his companions Arguistil, Ubelbiu, Jouann, Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elhearn, Judnou, Gurdocui, Guernabui.

Three churches of St. Teilo. The last-mentioned donation was of the three places in which churches dedicated to St. Teilo exist, each of which, according to the legend, laid claim to his body, the first on the ground that at Pennally his ancestors were buried, the second because it was a place where he had dwelt with his disciples, the third, on the coast at the mouth of the Tam, because it was the place where he died. The donation contains no mention of the miracle vouched for by the legend whereby a body was provided for each of the three.

If this record be genuine, it refers to the original donation to St. Teilo in his lifetime of the three places where he made settlements and built churches, and which were therefore most closely identified with his name; and it does not profess to be a record contemporary with the grant. It distinctly states that the donation was made 'in primo tempore,' the disciples of St. Dubricius being witnesses to the transaction, and not to the present record.

There is yet another of these records in the 'Book of Llan Day' requiring particular notice.

Leges Alamannorum, ii. 2. Römischen et Cf. 'qui manus suas in cartam Urkunde, p. 230. miserunt'; and see Brunner's

Zur Rechtsgeschichte der Römischen et Germanischen Urkunde, p. 230.

One of the disciples of St. Dubricius was Merchguinus. He is called in the record Merchquinus Rex, filius gliuis—i.e. he was one of the sub reguli of the A royal relative of family to which St. Cadoc belonged—and it states that under his rule a person named Guordoc (also lates' his one of the disciples of St. Dubricius) devoted (im-daughter. molavit) his virgin daughter Dulon to the Church of Llandaff along with four modii of land, in Gower, et communione tota regionis Guhiri in campo in aqua et in pascuis.' 1

VII. A royal St. Cadoc

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Now it must be clearly understood that there is nothing to show that these records were contemporary records. They do not claim to be such. one case a distinct disclaimer has been alluded to, the record speaking of the donation as having been made in primo tempore, which suggests a considerable interval.

The donations themselves are recorded to have The been made in all cases in the lifetime and presence of records do not claim St. Dubricius and some of his disciples. In no case to be yet are the witnesses, as so often afterwards in the porary. records in the 'Book of Llan Day,' the abbots and record members of the three little monasteries of St. Cadoc, past events, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin. The inference is that they were made before these monasteries had been founded, i.e. in the first half of the sixth century.

There are, moreover, some geographical points connected with these early ecclesiastical settlements which should not be overlooked.

In the first place they are not in a Cymric district, but in a Goidelic district (Guir et Cetgueli,

¹ Book of Llan Dav, p. 76.

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i.e. Gower and Kidwelli), the chieftains of which had not long surrendered to the conquests of Maelgwn.¹

The three settlements of St. Teilo were in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, and in what became the diocese of St. David.

Allusion has already been made to the dispute between Llandaff and St. Illtud, and ultimate confirmation to Llandaff of the cells of Cyngualan, Arthruodu, and Congur, and Pencreic, which had been lost to St. Dubricius in the Yellow Death. All these cells were in close neighbourhood in Gower, or adjacent parts of Glamorganshire.

Lastly, the three monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin were in close proximity to Llandaff.

Episcopacy not yet territorial. When, therefore, the episcopacy became or was becoming territorial in South Wales, difficulties arose naturally out of the geographical position of St. Teilo's settlements, which, though in the territory of St. David's, naturally belonged to Llandaff, of which St. Teilo was the saint.

But at the time of these donations there was no ground for such difficulties. What bishops there were were not territorial. The Church in South Wales was monastic rather than episcopal. Or more correctly the missionary work of the Church was carried on by the foundation of little monastic churches or colleges of monks, some of whose members were bishops, but whose heads were the abbots.

And both the historical importance of these monastic churches and the time of their prevalence are

¹ Historia Brittonum, s. 14, and see Zimmer's Nennius Vindicatus, p. 84-91.

marked by the fact that the system which had originally spread from Gaul, through Brittany, into Wales, was carried over by the Irishman Finian, who was a disciple of St. David, St. Gildas, and St. Cadoc, into Ireland, becoming there the second of 'the three orders of Saints;' viz. that immediately following the order of St. Patrick.'

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Monastic churches of the type introduced by St. Finian into Ireland.

VII. THE DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC.

We may now proceed to examine the records of The donations to St. Cadoc. They divide themselves into donations to St. Cadoc. They divide themselves into donat three groups when placed as far as possible in to St. Cadoc. They divide themselves into donat three groups when placed as far as possible in to St. Cadoc. They divide themselves into donations to St. Cadoc.

The records of donations to St. Cadoc during his lifetime.

In the first group are included donations made in the lifetime of St. Cadoc; and of these, two relate to the founding of monastic churches—one by a favourite disciple and the other by St. Cadoc himself.

³ Notū sit omibą p mutabilitate tēpoz t successiba hui? mundi regū . ą̃d Elli allūpn? beati Cadoci . ab ipso diligent a pimeua etate educat? . ac sacis apiciba apime institut? illiq cunctoz disciploz suoz carissim? . Et asseruit Elli dicens . Ecce ego construxi ecctam t domos in nõe Dni . t ipse cunctiq successores mei . familie Cadoci erim? obedientes subiecti . atq. beniuoli . familie Cadoci. Dedit etia Elli pscipte

Be it known to all, on account of the mutability of times and of the successions of the kings of this world, that Elli, the pupil of the blessed Cadoc, having been by him educated lovingly from tenderest age and well established in sacred learning and being the dearest to him of all his disciples, made declaration saying: 'Lo, I have built a church and houses in the name of the Lord, and I

MS., Vesp. A. xiv., B.M., and I have to thank Mr. W. K. Boyd for the care bestowed upon them.

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, ii. c. ii.

² The Latin of these records has been copied from the Cotton

³ Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new.

Foundation of a monastic church. Food-rents of 'three nights' summer and winter.

familie ppetua pensione singlis annis cibaria p tres noctes in estate ac totidē in hieme cū graru actione t leticia. oronibz t hymnis spualiba uerū etiā in substituendo administatore ei⁹dē eccte : abbas cenobii Catocj pses semp erit 't auctor. Ceter si contigit qd Catoc9 ata successores illi9 cũ illoz clientela minime venint: dentrillis boues ad recognitione subjectionis & societatis. couenientes ad monastiū elli pactione hac cu pacis osclo čfirmauert in conspectu elli iuxta cruce q . e . in uia multis nota.

Hui^o rei st testes . Catoc . Elli . Cleophas . Samson . Jacob . Boduan . Conocan . Mach . Ierunt un^oqisq, ad loc suū de bndictioe in bndictione Am. myself and all my successors shall be obedient, subject, and well disposed to the family of Cadoc.' Moreover, Elli gave to the aforesaid family in perpetual yearly payment provisions for three nights in summer and as many in winter, with giving of thanks and joy, prayers and spiritual hymns. Moreover, in changing the administrator of the same church the abbot of the community of Cadoc shall have the chief power and authority for ever. But if it shall happen that Cadoc and his successors with their followers shall diminish, then shall be given unto them two oxen as recognition of subjection and alliance. Whereupon coming together to the monastery of Elli they confirmed this agreement with the kiss of peace in the sight of Elli hard by the cross which is on the road known to many.

Of this thing are witnesses Catoc, Elli, Cleophas, Samson, Jacob, Boduan, Conocan, Mach. They departed each to his own place blessing and blest. Amen.

Church built by Cadoc for a disciple. Sciendū . ē . nob q̃d Cadoc construx̃ ecctam Mach moilo disciplo ei eāq, munimine uallauit ac in eadē altare composuit . qatin illo hospitaret qando iret ad Guent ac iñ rediret . dimisitq Mac moilū in ea plorē atq ad ministationis

Be it known to us that Cadoc built a church for Mach Moilus, his disciple, and walled it securely, and constructed an altar therein, to the end that therein he should be entertained when he should go to Gwent and return thence, and

toti⁹ peuratorē . Pollicit⁹ . ē . d Cadocs regni pmia celos cunctis qi eisde eccte possessiones agis seu pecuniis aut elemosinis auxerint : Testes st . sup hoc . Cadoc 't ctici eis. Pachan . Detiu . Boduan . Quica custodierit bnd. e. a Do . t qicq frangit maledicts erit a dno Am. 1

he ordained Mac Moilus as prior therein, and to be procurator of the whole of its administration. Moreover, Cadoc promised the rewards of the kingdom of heaven to all who should increase the possessions of the said church by land or moneys or alms.

The witnesses thereof are Cadoc and his clergy, Pachan, Detiu, Boduan.

Whosoever shall keep [this] shall be blessed by God; whosoever shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

Donations very similar to these, of churches built or founded by the donors, occur in Continental cartularies.² In the donation by Elli, the companion of Cadoc, of his church—'Llanelli'—there is an interesting variation in the description of the annual 'pensio,' or 'census.' It is described, not as a food- The three rent of so many measures of beer, with bread, flesh, nights' greatra. and honey, as in most cases, but as three nights' cibaria, i.e. questra, pavable in summer and winter respectively, the equivalent details of which are taken as well known, and not needing definition. This is an early illustration of the adaptation of the food-rent or gwestva to the nightly supply of the wants of the jamilia of the monastery to whom the donation was made. Instances will follow of the transfer of food-rents from a chieftain to a monastery without alteration. It will be noticed that, as in this case of the nights' entertainments, so also in other cases, the numbers are reckoned in threes.

¹ Fol. 38d. old ref., 39d. new.

² Cart. de St. Bertin, pp. 28, 29 (A.D. 677).

Снар. VII.

A chieftain murders two nephews, and, in redemption of the crime, he and another make donations of land with its food-rents of beer. bread. flesh, and honey.

The next record is of a different character:—

Post infuallū temporis occidit Euan Buuri duos uiros filios sororis ei^S. Atgan scit 4 Aidnerth . Quā ob rē uenit Cadoc & Eltuth . & maledixert Euan . Vñ coact⁹ uenit Euan t Reges cu eo ad psentia Codoci atq. Eltuti : confessusq. ẽ eis sceta sua. At illi dixert ei . Redime culpā homicidii . Respondit Catlon dicens. Dabo agrū nõe Lan Hoitlon Cadoco. Pensio ei^S . ij . vasa sex modioz ceruise cum pane t carne t melle . scam solita debitā debiti mensurā. Merchiann no dedit villa nidelicet Conhil Eltuto . atch . iii . uasa q̃ sex modios cuise continebāt unu quodq uas cu agis consecantes : pfatis scis in ppetuā elemosină ctulert. At illi satisfactione Euan suscipientes. xiiii . annos penitencie iniunxerüt ei.

Cui⁹ facti testes fuert . Catlon . Merchiaun . Euan . Cethij . Scs

Catman . Hoitlon . Virgo Cadoc . Finian scott⁹ . Eutegrýn lector . Familia & Cadoci . atq. Cadoci . atq. Cadoci . atq. Eltuti : testes št . Quičą custodierit : benedict⁹ erit a Do . t qicunq frangit maledict⁹ erit. 1

After an interval of time Evan Buurr killed two men, sons of his sister, to wit Atgan Aidnerth. Whereupon came Cadoc and Illtud and cursed Evan. Whereby constrained came Evan and the kings with him to the presence of Cadoc and Illtud, and confessed to them his crimes. And they said to him, 'Redeem the crime of homicide.' Catlon replied saying, 'I will give land called Lan Hoitlan to Cadoc: the pensio thereof is two vessels each of six modii of beer. with bread and flesh honey, according to the due accustomed measure.' Moreover, Merchiaun gave a villa, i.e. Conhil, to Illtud, and three vessels which contain six modii of beer, consecrating each vessel with the land. They conferred them on the aforesaid saints in everlasting alms. Moreover, they receiving satisfaction from Evan enjoined upon him fourteen years of penitence. Of which fact the witnesses were Catlon, Merchiaun, Evan, Cethii, St. Catman, Hoitlon, Virgo Cadoc, Finian Scottus, Eutegyrn the reader. Also the family of Cadoc, and of Cadoc and Illtud, Whoever shall are witnesses. keep this shall be blessed of God, and whoever shall break it shall be cursed.

¹ Fol. 38d. old ref., 39d. new.

This record is interesting in several ways. chieftain has murdered two sons of his sister. St. Cadoc and St. Illtud are courageous enough to charge him with the crime. He brings two other chieftains with him (probably members of his family), and makes confession, whereupon the two abbots require him, according to Church law, to redeem the crime of homicide. There is no galanas within the kindred, but the Church must have her due. The two chieftains comply with the demand, and respectively make to the monasteries of the two abbots donations of properties, and these, according to custom, are described by the amount of the annual payments or food-rents due from them, viz. in one case two vessels, each of six modii of beer, with bread, flesh. and honey, according to customary amount and measure; in the other case, three such vessels, each of six modii of beer, and bread, flesh, and honey, in addition.

But this is not all. Having received these dona- The tions, the two abbots impose upon the murderer vears' fourteen years' penance, i.e. seven years' penance for each of the two murders, according to the rules laid down in contemporary Penitentials.1

penance.

What could Gildas ask more from the abbots than this? The witnesses comprise amongst others the two chieftains who make the donations. One of them, Merchiaun, as we shall find from another record, was afterwards murdered by his relative, Guoidnerth. Gildas did not, it seems, overrate the crimes of chief-

^{1 &#}x27;Hibernensis sinodus dicit: penitentiam districte sub regula : c. 10.

monasterii peniteant.' Omnes homicidæ si toto corde Irische Kanonensammlung. Wasconversi fuerint, VII annorum serschleben, p. 96. Lib. xxviii.

CHAP.
VII.
The Irish monk
Finian as witness.

tains. Another witness was Finian Scottus. This can hardly be other than the Irish monk Finian, already alluded to, who, according to Irish authorities, came over when thirty years old into Wales, to be the disciple, as already mentioned, of the Welsh saints David, Cadoc, and Gildas, and, after remaining thirty years in Britain, returned to Ireland to found the second order of monasteries. He died, like so many others, of the Yellow Death, according to the annals of Ulster, in A.D. 548.2 The appearance of Finian as a witness to this record puts back the date of the transaction, if authentic, some years, at least, before the Yellow Death.

VIII. THE DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC (continued).

The next three donations are linked together by the fact that they were made in the time of Conigc, the abbot of St. Cadoc's monastery, and that some of the witnesses were common to them all.

Sciendū . ē . q̃d Theudor fili⁹ Mourici dedit gladiū vestimtūq. Catoco t familie ei⁹ qatin⁹ in emerēt trā in sustentationē ei⁹dē . Conigc uo abbas altaris sči Cadoci tribuit gladiū illū uestimtūq. Spois t Rodrico p uilla cui nom Conguoret in Pencenli . q¹ concessert hanc Cadoco t eiusdē eccte possidendā iure ppetuo . q̃ annua pensione psolū et p̃misso Conig

Be it known that Theudor son of Mouricus gave a sword and garment to Cadoc and his familia to the end that therewith they should buyland for the sustentation of the same. Moreover, Conigc abbot of the altar of St. Cadoc, assigned that sword and garment to Spois and Rodricus for the villa named Conguoret in Pencenli, who granted it to

Donations whilst Conigc was abbot of Llancarvon. Donation of land with reservation of occupation and payment of foodrent of

beer, &c.

¹ Rees misread the manuscript as 'Finian Seoctus,' and so failed to recognise the name of the Irish monk.

² Reeve's Life of St. Columba, lxxiii., n.; Skene's Celtic Scotland, ii. p. 50.

CHAP.

ac plibate familie . p manū Spois t filioz ei in etnū . noue modios ceruise pane q carne ac mel . Et ut ista possessio liba t gieta foret ab omib; seruitiis ? exactionib; ?renoz regū : isdē Spois fili9 Gurhitr smptit9 . ē . iii . uaccas Guornemet . un Bfat9 Rodri tenuit cartă siue gaphiū sup manū Conige abbatis Nantearbanan in confirmatioem hui9 donationis. Postea uº conuenert Rodri & Spois ac filii ei⁹. Conigc etia I clerici ei attule t crucë sči Cadoci t humu ei9 t circueundo pdictu agru congueret . illudg uendicauert 3 pscipti sči humū in signū ppie possessionis sup illū corā idoneis testib; conspsert.

De laicis, testes . Rodri . Guornemet . Guoguoret . Hoilbiu . Houhoer . Colbiu. De clericis . Samson . abbas altaris sõi Eltuti . Conige abb altaris iõi Cadoci . Plossan . Ætern . Iouan . Minuocioi . Brenic . † familia sõi Cadoci . testis ẽ . Qui conseruaulit conseruet illū Ds . † qi fregerit maledicto erit a Dno añ.

Cadoc and his church in possession by perpetual right so that in annual pensio it should pay to the said Conigc and his familia aforesaid by the hand of Spois and his sons for ever nine modii of beer, also bread, flesh, and honey, and that this possession should be free and quit of all services and exactions of earthly kings the said Spois son of Gurhitr bestowed three cows on Guornemet. Whereupon the said Rodricus held the charter or writing upon the hand of Conigc the abbot of Nantcarvan in confirmation of this donation. Afterwards, moreover, came together Rodricus and Spois and his sons, also Conigc and his clergy brought the cross of St. Cadoc and his earth, and by going round the said land Congueret both sold it and scattered on it the earth of the saint aforesaid as a sign of proper possession before fit witnesses. Of laity, witnesses: Rodricus, Guornemet, Guoguoret, Hoilbiu. Houhoer, Colbiu. Of clergy: Samson abbot of the altar of Illtud, Conigc abbot of the Altar of St. Cadoc, Plossan, Ætern. Iouan, Minuocioi, Brenic, and the family of St. Cadoc is witness Who shall have kept this God keep him. Who shall have broken it shall be accursed by God. Amen.

¹ Fol. 38 old ref., 39 new.

Sword and vestment used as money. This record presents many points of interest.

Theudor, the son of Mouric, gives a sword and a vestment to the monastery of St. Cadoc to be used as money to purchase land for its maintenance.

Conigc, the abbot, buys with them a villa named Conguoret, in Pencenli, from Spois and Rodric. They, however, retain possession. The food-rent of nine modii of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, is to be paid by them and their sons for ever. And, that it might be freed from all secular services, Spois, the son of Gurhur, gives three cows to Guornemet. Rodri holds the charter or writing upon the hand of Conigc, the abbot, in confirmation of the gift, and then, lastly, Rodri and Spois with his sons, and the abbot with his clergy, carry the cross of St. Cadoc and earth from his altar or sepulchre round the newly purchased land in the presence of witnesses. Cadoc is now evidently dead.

The next record is as follows:—

Donation of land by a father and three sons, reserving occupation under food-rent.

Sciendū ē ād Bronnoguid fili⁹ Febric dedit dimidia parte agri Idraclis p aïa sua t ut nom ei⁹ in libro Catoci ap Nantcarban scibetr . Do & monastio sci Cadoci. Et ipe qidē Bronnoguid I tres filii ei9 Guedan . T Guobrir . T Meuc . tenuert sciptü gaphii manū Conige pincipis altaris Cadoci in sempitno donationis iure Do t sco Cadoco . Annº 4 eni illi9 agi census ppetuus ē: tres modii ceruise. t panes t carnes t mina mellis. Hec eni Bronnotguid t tres filii ei9

Be it known that Bronnoguid, son of Febric, gave a half share of the land Idraclis for his soul, and that his name might be written in the book of Cadoc at Nantcarvan, to God and the monastery of St. Cadoc. And he, to wit Bronnoguid, and his three sons, Guedan and Guobrir and Meuc, held the writing of the document upon the hand of Conige, chief of the altar of Cadoc, in everlasting right of donation to God and St. Cadoc. Moreover, the annual

¹ See Book of Llan Dav, pp. 71, 121, 161, 162, for other examples of this kind of ceremony.

I gnatio illoz annuati debent psoluere familie Cadoci usq. ad die iudicii . Hui9 pactiois testes st . Bronnotguid dns fundi t filii ipsis. Guoidan. Marcant . Iunemet . Conigc abb . Elionoy . Brenic . Mannocoi . Beduan . Plosan . Qui hāc donationē seruauit : custodiat illū Ds . Et qi fregit : maledicts erit a Do . Am.

permanent census of that land is three modii of beer, and bread, and flesh, and a mina of honey. For Bronnotguid and his three sons and their offspring ought to pay these annually to the family of Cadoc until the day of judgment. Of this agreement are witnesses, Bronnotguid, dominus fundi, and his sons Guoidan, Marcant, Iunemet, Conigc abbot, Elionoy, Brenic, Mannocoi, Beduan, Plosan. Who shall keep this donation God guard him, and who shall break itshall be cursed by God. Amen.

In this case the donor and his three sons hold the writing, as in other instances, upon the hand of the They, however, retain the occupation of abbot. the land, and the father, who is the dominus fundi, and the three sons and their kindred, are henceforth to pay to the abbey the census of three modii of beer and bread and flesh, and a mina of honey yearly, till the day of judgment.

The next record is of the same kind. Possession is retained and the census payable to the abbot is exactly double that of the last case.

Sciendū . ē . qd dedit Conbelin agrū Lisdin borrion uocat9 p comercio regni celestis cu corpore suo Do 1 sco Cadoco qd ei annuati psoluet sex modios cuise . cu pane t carne 4 melle . Testis . ē . Conigc qi sup manū suā scipsit [?sumpsit] concuū . i . Cyrogaphum.2

Be it known that Conbelin Donation gave land called Lisdin borrion for purchase of the kingdom of heaven with his own body to God and St. Cadoc so that he should pay to him (Cadoc) annually six modii of beer with bread and flesh and honey. The witness is Conige, who, upon his own hand, [took (?)]...chirograph.

same kind.

¹ Fol. 38 old ref., 39 new

² Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

IX. DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC (continued).

The next record is that of a donation to God and St. Cadoc by a father, who commended a villa to his son so that the latter should serve the abbey and pay out of the surplus produce the food-rent of nine *modii* of beer with bread and flesh and honey to St. Cadoc.

Donation by a father, reserving occupation to his son, with food-rent to St. Cadoc.

Sciendū. ē. sane qd Gualluuir donauit Do & Sco Cadoco agrū Pencarnov, p aïa sua in sempitnū : usq ad diē iudicii . Guallunir aŭ hanc uilla commdauit Iudnou filio suo . qatin9 ipse t heredes ipsi⁹ seruirēt familie Cadoci ex sūptib3 hui⁵ agi pt ipsos. Cens hui agi. ē . nouē modii ceruise . panes t carnes c melle . Quinimmo : qocq clerici Cadoci uoluerint manducare † bibe : uidelicet in Basseleg . seu in Pencarnov : Bfat⁹ Iudnou cibaria I potičem q plibauim afferet ad illos.

Hui⁹ pactionis testes st Paulus abbas Nantcarban. Guenlioui fr ei⁹. Thinuc. Canapoi. Tanet. Hierbrith. Merhitr. Concū. Quicq custodierit. custodi; illū Fs. ?q i fregit maled. e. a Dno. am. 1

Be it well known that Gualluuir gave to God and St. Cadoc the land Pencarnov for his soul for ever till the day of judgment, Guallunir, moreover, 'commendavit' this villa to Iudnou, his son, to the end that he himself and his heirs should serve the family of Cadoc out of the produce of this land beyond their own needs.1 census of this land is nine modii of beer, bread and flesh and honey. But nevertheless, that whenever the clergy of Cadoc wish to eat or drink, namely, in Basseleg or in Pencarnov, the said Iudnou shall supply them with food and drink as aforesaid. Of this agreement are witnesses: Paulus, Abbot of Nantcarban, Gwenlioui his brother, Thinuc, Hierbrith, Canapoi, Tanet. Merhitr, Concum. Whoever shall keep this, God keep him; and who shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

¹ Fol. 38d old ref., 39d new.

The following is a simple one:-

CHAP. VII.

Sciendū ē . ad Temit dedit agrū . id est de Ago Crucin . altari sci Cadoci in ppetuā possessione cu filiis suis . in tempore Pauli abbis de Nantcaruan . qd annuatī .vj. modios ceruise c panib; t carnib; familie sci Cadoci . iugit psoluet.

Testes st. De clicis. Guouan . Matganoj . Son . Brenic . Elionoe . Pill lector . De laicis uº : Cungrat . Guedhoc . Eliunui . Rimogeat . Branoc . Cunhape . Quicq seruauit hāc obtonē : conseruet illū Đs. 4 qi abstutit : confringet illū Đs.2

Be it known that Temit Similar gave land, i.e. of Ager Crucin, to the altar of St. Cadoc in perpetual possession, with his his sons. (Temit's) sons, in the time of Paul, Abbot of Nantcarvan, so that he should pay annually six modii of beer, with bread and flesh, to the family of St. Cadoc for ever.1

Witnesses are, of the clergy: Guouan, Matganoi, Son, Brenic, Elionoe, Pill the reader. Of the laity, Cungrat, Guedhoc, Eliunui, Rimogeat, Branoc, Cunhape. Whoever shall keep this, God keep him; and who withdraws it, God will break him in pieces.

Here again the donor and his sons retain possession on payment of the census of six modii of beer with bread and flesh.

The rest of these remarkable records are proved by numerous coincidences in the witnesses to be contemporary with those in the 'Book of Llan Day,' which belong to the time of the Bishop Oudoceus. This bishop succeeded St. Teilo, it is supposed, about A.D. 574, and, according to the 'Book of Llan Day,' he received donations from three chieftains in succes-

by a father and

¹ Compare this with the following passage in Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus S. Martini, lib. iv., s. 11: 'Tradidit ei omnem possessionem suam dicens: "Sint

hæc omnia penes Sancti Martini ditionem quæ habere videor et hoc tantum exinde utar, ut de his dum vixero. alar.'

² Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new.

sion—viz. Meurig, who is said to have died A.D. 575; his son Athrwys, and his grandson Morcant.

The first three donations now to be considered were made whilst Jacob was Abbot of St. Cadoc, and the next two during the abbacy of Sulien. The first two were made during the lifetime of Meurig, and the rest in the time of his grandson Morcant. In the meantime, it was under Meurig's son, Athrwys, that the dispute arose between St. Oudoceus and Biuon, Abbot of St. Illtud, which gave rise to the charter in the 'Book of Llan Day,' whereby the cells of the disciples of St. Dubricius—Cyngualan, Arthruodu, and Congur-which had been lost in the Yellow Death, were confirmed to the see of Llandaff. correspondence between the witnesses to this confirmatory charter and those of the following records of donations to the monastery of St. Cadoc, so far as it goes, is confirmatory evidence of the substantial genuineness of both. And the date of the donations is fixed within the limits of the episcopacy of Oudoceus, roughly embracing the closing decades of the sixth century.

Purchase from a chieftain and his family of land, thereupon given to St. Cadoc. Notū sit omib; q̃d Guorcinnun emit uillā Reathr a Mourico in p¹ā hereditatē p gladio cui capulū extitit deauratū pciū . xxv . uaccarū appciatū . Imptit ē . ẽ . ch Concennio Pauli filio equū in pcio . iiijor . uaccar . Preciaretiā triū unciar uestimti .

Be it known to all that Guorcinnun bought the villa Reathr from Mouricus for his own inheritance for a sword whose hilt was gilded and valued at the price of twenty-five cows. He bestowed also on Concennius, son of Paulus, a horse of the value of four cows, also of

¹ Rees' Lives of Cambro-British Saints, supplementary notes, p. 6.

Comoro aŭ qnda equu optimu Concenni filio . S3 7 Andreso Morcanti filio gladiū i pcio. iiijor . uaccar . Ite ide largit9 . ē. Pciū. iiijor uaccar. Iudnertho Mourici filio unaq boue Cornouano nutitori suo ? alia uaccă pcuratori regis Guengartho . Po hāc go emptionē tenuert Mouric F Concen gaphiā carte sup manū Guorcinn n sēpitnā hereditatē sibi t ei⁹ pgeniei. Ipe uº Guorcinn dedit hac uilla ecclesie scii Cadoci in ppetuā possessionē. usq, in die iudicii . tenuitq, cyrogaphū donationis sup manū Iacobi abtis Carbani uallis p hui⁹ elemosine comemorone corā idoneis testib; . q°; nõa subscibuntr . Eudoce eps . 4 Cethig posit9 altaris Docgwini . Iacob; "posit" siue abts altaris sci Cadoci . t familia ei secū . De familia Eltuti : Testes st Conmoe pstr . Conuul Magist . t Ioseph pstr . Biuone . Catgen . De laicis uº : Mouricº & filii ei⁹ . Andrus . Guedgen . Bramail . Concit fili9 Ermit . Guorbes fili9 Berran . Geintoc . Assail . Arcon . Guallimir . Iudhol . Matton . Eliud9 . Hilon . Oms testes sup hanc donationis consciptione. Predicta nāq uilla Reathr. copetebat Mesioco hereditario iure. cui Guorcinni . equu Pstitit ut huic concessioni adqiescet habentē pciū triū uaccarū. Qui

garments of the worth of three ounces [of silver ?]. Moreover, to Commor, the son of Concennius, a certain 'best horse': also to Andresus, son of Morcant, a sword of the value of four cows. Item, the same [donor] granted the price of four cows to Iudnerth, son of Mouricus, together with an ox to Cornovanus, his foster-father, and another cow to Guengarth, the procurator of the king. Therefore, on account of this purchase, Mouric and Concen held the writing of the charter upon the hand of Guorcinn for everlasting inheritance for himself and his offspring. Moreover, Guorcinn himself gave this villa to the church of St. Cadoc in everlasting possession till the day of judgment, and he held the chirograph of donation upon the hand of Jacob, the abbot of Carban valley, in commemoration of this alms, before fit witnesses whose names are subscribed. Eudoce, bishop, and Cethig, prepositus of the altar of St. Docgwin, Jacob, prepositus or abbot of the altar of St. Cadoc, and his family with him. Of the family of Illtud are witnesses: Conmoe priest, Conuul magister, and Joseph priest, Biuone, Catgen. Of the laity Mouric and his sons Andrus, Gwedgen, Bramail, Concit son of Ermit, Gurbes son of Berran, Geintoc, Assail, Ar-

hoc temerauit: maledict erit con, Gwallimir, Iudhol, Matton, a Deo.

con, Gwallimir, Iudhol, Matton, Eliudus, Hilon, all witnesses of this conscription of donation. For the aforesaid villa of Reathr belonged to Messiocus by right of inheritance, to whom Guorcinin gave a horse worth three cows that he should assent to this grant. Who shall violate this shall be accursed by God.

Goldhilted sword, &c., used as money.

This record represents Guorcinnim as buying a certain villa from Meuric the king with a gold-hilted sword worth twenty-five cows. A horse worth four cows is also paid to Concenn. Vestments worth three ounces [of silver] are paid to Conmoe, and a 'best horse' to the son of Concenn. A sword worth four cows is given to the son of Morcant, and another worth four cows to the son of Meuric, and an ox is given to his foster-father. Lastly, a cow is paid to Guengarth, procurator of the King Meuric. This done, and the consent of all these having been thus obtained, Meuric and Concenn hold the written charter, according to the prevalent form of delivery, on the hand of Guorcinnim, the purchaser, in token of eternal inheritance to him and his descendants. Then the purchaser gives the villa so bought to the church of St. Cadoc, and holds the chirograph of the donation upon the hand of Jacob the abbot in the presence of Bishop Oudoceus and others. But even now all has not yet been done. Another person claims hereditary rights in the land, and Guor-

¹ Fol. 39d old ref., 40d new.

cinnim has to give him a horse worth three cows to get quit of his claim. Surely we have in this, as in some other cases, an example of a sale of land belonging to a chieftain's gwely.

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Ostendendū . ē . futuris p temporū mutacionib; et regū successib; . qd Mouric Rex dedit partē agri p aïa sua qi uocatr Insule Tuican, ac due partes agi q ppie fuert Gorbrith t Gassoc . necñ t sororis sue parit Sule . sup d ēb; Mouric rex gaphiā consciptionis tenuit sup manū Iacob abbis Cathedre sci Cadoci, ut ipe libas t qietas facet ab omi censu t ab omi calūpnia. Lab omib; L seruitiis excepto famulitio sci Cadoci. Qua ppt po hec dedit Iacob equū Mourico regi . at ille largit9 . ē . illū Guodgen filio Brocmaili . Hui9 rei testes st . Iacob abbs. Rumceneu. Catthig. t pres eoz Comogoe. Conmil . Guorgeneu . Beuonoe . Catgen . Hearngen . Crasgell . Outegurn . Guitlon . Sulien . Clerici. De laicis Mouric⁹ sup ipsū solū. I sup filios suos. a gñratiōe in gñrationē. Gueldgen Brocmail . Guallunir . fili9 Guorcinnim . Guorbes . Morcenev . Morhoen . Hii št testes sup hoc pactū : ut . ñ . soluatr in etnū . Deiñ Mouric⁵ rex confirmauit hāc donatione sup altare sci Cadoci corā seniorib; suis. Quicq conservauit bndict9

Be it declared to posterity, because of the changes of times and the successions of kings, that King Mouric gave for his soul a part of the land called Insula Tuican and two parts of the land which belonged to Gorbrith and Gassoc as well as their sister Sula, equally, with respect to which King Mouric held the written document upon the hand of Jacob abbot of the chair of St. Cadoc, so that he himself might make them free and quit from all census, and all claims, and all services except the service of the family of St. Cadoc. Wherefore in this behalf Jacob gave a horse to King Mouric and he bestowed it upon Guodgen son of Brocmail. Of this thing are witnesses: Jacob abbot, Rum-Catthig, and their ceneu, fathers Conmogoe, Conmil. Guorgeneu, Beuonoe, Catgen. Hearngen, Crasgell, Outegurn, Guitlon, Sulien, clergy. the laity: Mouric on behalf of himself alone and his sons. from generation to generation Gueldgen son of Brocmail. Guallunir, Guorcinnim, Guorbes, Morcenev, Morhoen.

Donation by a chieftain confirmed on the altar before his elders.

erit . t qi dissoluit maledict⁹ | erit a Deo. 1

are witness over this agreement that it be not loosed for ever. Then King Mouric confirmed this donation upon the altar of St. Cadoc before his own elders. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever dissolves it shall be cursed by God.

This record is very similar to the last, except that the donation, after the usual formalities of delivery, is confirmed upon the altar of St. Cadoc by Meuric the king in the presence of his elders. Nor is it needful to dwell upon the next.

Donation of land with usual food-rent.

Sciendū ẽ ą̃d Terengual dedit agrū Lecguoidel Đo t Cadoco qi annuatī psoluet Cadoco t familie ei⁵ tres modios ceruise t panes t carnes t si forte ceruisa caruerit: reddet. iiiior. modios titici ūl clamidē albū. Hāc elemosinā dedit Terengual Đo t sco Cadoco libam t qietā ab omi regali t treno seruitio. p aïa sua t p aïa Morcāt.

Inde testes st Iacob posit altaris Cadoci t familia ei ... Conmogoi . Conuul . Ioseph . Biuuonoi . Catgen . De famili Eltuti . testes . Marcant . Gualunir . Guedgen . Guengarth.

Finis h^o agⁱ . ē . a Pull tenbuib : usq. Dirprisc . Quičq, seruauit būdict^o sit . † qⁱ uiolauit maledict^o erit a Do.²

Be it known that Terengual gave the land Lecquoidel to God and Cadoc, which annually shall pay to Cadoc and his familia three modii of beer, and bread and flesh, and if by chance beer shall be lacking, it shall give four modii of wheat or a white cloak. This alms gave Terengual to God and St. Cadoc free and quit from all regal and earthly service for his soul and the soul of Morcant. Witness thereof are Jacob prepositus of the altar of Cadoc and his familia, Conmogoi, Connual, Joseph, Biuuoni, Catgen. Of the familia of Illtud are witnesses: Marcant, Guallunir, Guedgen, Guengarth. boundary of this land is from Pulltenbuib as far as Dirprisc. Whoso shall keep this be blessed, and whoso shall violate it shall be cursed by God.

¹ Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

² Fol. 39d old ref., 40d new.

The following record refers to the fratricide already mentioned of *Merchiun*, and the donation to St. Cadoc of Lann Catgualader, with its *census* of three *modii* of beer, by way of redemption of the crime.

A very similar record of donation is contained in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' but making Berthguin, Bishop of Llandaff, the recipient of the gift.

Notificandū . ē . postis qd dedit Guoidnerth Lann Catgualader Do & sco Cadoco qatins got annis uas . iii . modiorū Zuise illi psolueretr cū omib; debitis ppt fricidiū germani sui Merchiun . atch tandem reddit9 dedit Docgwinno . Sup hoc testes fuert Berthgwin⁹ epc . Conmil . Terchan & Congregatio ei9 . Sulien abbs . Nant carban . Lumbiu Bstr . Biuoni . Iouab . 7 Congregatio sci Cadoci . Saturn pinces altaris Docgwinni . Marcant . Guoidnerth . Quicq seruauit ' benedict⁹ erit . Et qⁱ temerauit : maledict erit a Deo.

Be it made known to posterity that Guoidnerth gave Lann Catgualader to God and St. Cadoc to the end that each year should be paid to him (Cadoc) a vessel of three modii of beer with all dues, on account of the fratricide of his own brother Merchiun, and after that he gave the rents to Dogwin. Concerning this the witnesses were Berthgwin bishop, Conmil, Terchan and his congregation, Sulien abbot of Nantcarban, Lumbiu priest, Biuoni, Saturn chief of the altar of Dogwin, Marcant, Guoidnerth. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever shall violate it shall be cursed by God.

Donation in redemption of fratricide.

The following record is perhaps the most graphic and interesting of all:—

Sciendū.ē. ą̃d Morcant Rex uenando uenit usq, ad ripā fluminis Nadhauon t iecit accipitrē sup anatē. t ambo simul accipit t anas flum uolatu tansmeauert. Et subito ueniebat aqila de ripa maris ut rapet Be it known that Morcant, king, came a-hunting to the bank of the river Nadhauon, and threw his hawk upon a duck, and both at once hawk and duck crossed the river in their flight. And suddenly

Donation by a chief and his procurator of a rilla and its census.

¹ Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

accipitre . Qd ut uidit Marcant rex : ualde ctistat9 . ē . Ast concite alūpn⁹ regis ueniens nõe Guengarth . eques č scuto t gladio ac lancea se in flum pripuit . I accipitre a raptu aqile n modico uiritr eripuit : uer etiā leporit accipitrē cū anate ad manu Morcant Regis attulit . illüq tali facinore ñ minimū letificauit . Quo cica dix Morcant Guengartho. Ecce tibuo ti uilla Cadroc in ius hereditariū habentē longitudinē ab urbe Trotguid : usq ad flum Nadauan . I latitudine a fonte Guengarth : usq ad aliū fontē Guengarth. Eodē die Morcāt & Guengarth prexert ad qoddā Pritoriū Cadocj. Ptibuit Guengarth Do 't sco Cadoco censū pscipte uille Cadroc p aïa sua t p aı̃a Morcanti regis . scil singlis annis . xii . modios čuise t sextariū mellis . debitū & panē t carnē. Insup etiā idē Guengarth dedit Conmogov Hipiclaur gladiū suū deauratū p aïa sua qd habuit beiū . lxxta. uaccar. Quare consuluit Comogoy Guengardo qo gladiū illū Morcanto pstaret . ut ille donationē Guengardi čfirmaret sup pago Catroc: qd t fec . Qua de re Morcant plibata donatione ratā habuit atq scipto corroborauit sup manū Sulien illa illinc fore libā t qietā ab omi Preno seruitio . uerū fundit⁹ obsegio Di t sci Cadoci obnoxia.

Hui⁹ rei testes st. Morcat. sup se ipsū. ut nullus hui⁹

there came an eagle from th sea shore to seize the hawl Which when King Morcan saw he was exceeding sorrow ful, but in a moment a foste son of the king, named Guen garth, coming up on horseback with shield and sword and lance, hurled himself into th river, and with no little braver snatched the hawk from the grip of the eagle. And, more over, lightly brought the hawl with the duck to the hand o Morcant the king, and by such achievement delighted him no Whereupon Morcant said to Guengarth: 'Behold, I grant to thee the villa Cadroo as an inheritance stretching from the city Trotguid as far as the river Nadavan, and in breadth from the spring Guengarth as far as another spring Guengarth.' On the same day Morcant and Guengarth reached a certain territory of Cadoc, and Guengarth consigned to God and St. Cadoc the census of the aforesaid villa Cadroc for his soul and the soul of Morcant the king, to wit every year twelve modii of beer and a sextar of honey, and the bread and flesh due therewith. Over and above this the same Guengarth gave to Conmogoy for his soul his gilded sword 'Hipiclaur,' which was of the value of seventy cows. Wherefore, Conmogoy concurred with Guengarth when he bestowed

fritorii peurator extat ni Guengarth theredes illis. De Cticis. Sulien. Cōmogoi. Danoc. Guorguethen. Legan. Elgnou. De laicis uo Guingueri. Iacob. Boduan. Elguan. Gurhitr. Cuncuan. Quicq. cstodierit bnd erit. tqi ifregit maled a Do ta Cadoco. Am. 1

that sword on Morcant, that he should confirm the donation of Guengarth with regard to the 'pagus' Catroc, which also he did. Concerning which thing Morcant aforesaid ratified the donation, and corroborated it by a writing upon the hand of Sulien, thenceforth to be free and quit from all earthly service. but completely subject to the service of God and St. Cadoc. Of this thing are the witnesses Morcant on behalf of himself that no one should be procurator of this territory except Guengarth and his heirs. Of the clergy: Sulien, Conmogoi, Danoc, Guorguethen, Legan, Elgnou. Of the laity: Guingueri, Jacob, Boduan, Elguan, Gurhitr, Cuncuan. Whoever shall guard this shall be blessed, and whoever shall break it shall be cursed by God and St. Cadoc.

Morcant, the grandson of Meuric, is hawking with Guengarth, his procurator, and, as a reward for saving his hawk, the impulsive king gives him on the spot a villa, apparently, according to the boundaries, adjoining that occupied by Guengarth. Then the two together, on the same day, go to a certain territory of St. Cadoc, and there Guengarth gives to St. Cadoc the census of the villa so lately given to him by Morcant for the souls of himself and King Morcant—namely, twelve modii of beer and a sextar of honey, and the usual bread and flesh. Thereupon Guengarth gives to Conmogoy, a cleric, his gilded

¹ Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new,

A gilded sword named 'Hipiclaur,' worth seventy cows, and used as money. sword named 'Hipiclaur,' worth seventy cows, for his soul. And the reason why Guengarth has to give him the sword turns out to be that the confirmation of Conmogoy is needful to the donation. Lastly, the king Morcant confirms it by a writing placed on the hand of Sulien, the abbot of St. Cadoc, and witnesses that no one shall be *procurator* of that territory except Guengarth and his heirs.¹

We have now arrived at the last of these records.

Donation of land at Caerleon.

Significandū. ē q̃d Retone dimidiā partē ag¹ iuxta Ciuitatē Legionis Đo atq. Sc̃o Cadoco ppetuo iure possidendā q̃ illū ħeditario iure contīgebat. t̃n qz t̃c ad Herbic deuoluta fuerat eandē ab illo emit. t Đo t sc̃o Cadoco t¹buit.

Cui⁹ rei :' št testes . Herbic . Curnet . Congale cleři . De laicis . Guornet . Guedguon . Guedgui . Son⁹ . Atderreg . Qui c⁹todierit . sit bădict⁹ . q¹ uiolaulit sit maledict⁹ . Am.²

Be it signified that Retone [gave] the half share of land near Caerleon to God and to St. Cadoc in perpetual right of possession which concerned him by right of inheritance, and after had devolved upon Herbic. bought the same from him and gave it to God and St. Cadoc. Of which thing are witnesses: Herbic, Curnet, Congale, of the clergy. Of the laity: Guornet, Guedguon, Guedgui, Sonus, Atderreg. Who shall keep this shall be blessed, who shall violate it shall be cursed. Amen.

X. AUTHENTICITY OF THE EARLY EVIDENCE.

These early records in keeping with tribal rules as to the family character of owner-

ship.

The reader will now be able to judge for himself how far in these remarkable records we seem more or less to breathe the air of the sixth century, into which the lamentations of Gildas introduced us.

On the one hand, comparing the character of the transactions recorded with what has been already

¹ See supra, p. 154, n.

² Fol. 38d old ref., 39d new.

learned from the Codes and surveys of the tribal system, surely the habits and actions of the donors of the donations are in close keeping with the customary rules of tribal chieftainship.

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In the family character of their ownership and the necessity for the concurrence of relations, both as regards the redemption of their crimes and the validity of their grants, there is strong incidental evidence both of the mutual responsibility for crime and of the land ownership in quelys under the rules of tir qweliawc.

At the same time, the use of gold-hilted swords, The cow and vestments, and 'best horses,' instead of money the unit of value. nearly all of them equated with cows-belongs to that earlier stage of tribal life to which the Codes look back as the period when 'all payments were made in cattle,' a period of which the reckoning of the gradations in the galanas in cows was a survival.

The moral atmosphere of these transactions clearly Moral atbelongs to a lower and an earlier stratum of tribal mosphere life than that of the Codes. The impulsive passions early of the chieftains, leading to so many murders of system members of their own family, naturally belong to the uncurbed, childish stage of human life, which is prone to superstition, and succumbs so easily to spiritual terrors. It is in this early stage that pride and passion so soon are succeeded by temporary remorse and submission. At no other time than in the first moment of contact with the Church would the chieftains of conquering tribes be likely to succumb so submissively to the purely moral and spiritual power of the saints and the monks.

Nor at any other period than this of first contact

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VII.

Mutual
influence
of the
Church
and tribal
system.

would conquering chieftains follow tribal instincts so impulsively as not only to endow with donations the conquering spiritual power, but also themselves to rush into its communion, claiming chieftainship in it by themselves becoming monks and saints, so giving rise to saintly families of royal or chieftain blood, as in the case of St. Cadoc himself, St. Dubricius, and others.

The tribal system to a certain extent absorbed into itself the spiritual power to which the successors of Cunedda had to yield. And how naturally and inevitably this process of mutual absorption of one another by the tribal and spiritual powers produced or promoted in South Wales precisely those scandals, both in churchmen and chieftains, to which the lamentations of Gildas so loudly bore contemporary witness!

Formalities and forms of delivery.

Finally recurring to the technical side of these donations, and comparing the picturesque formalities used in making them with contemporary Continental forms, there is close resemblance without servile imitation. Perhaps nowhere else do we find exactly the formality of placing the writing upon the hand (super manum) of the recipient in the presence of There is an out-of-doors air about this form which seems to show that the transactions did not always take place in a church. Where the transaction took place in a church, the writings, as on the Continent, were laid upon the altar, or upon the copy of the Gospels which lay upon the altar. These Gospels naturally became, as in the case of the copy which Gelhi purchased from the [cell of] Cingual, and placed on the altar of St. Teilo, the

recipients of memoranda of similar donations, but there is no mention in the Cadoc records of this practice having yet commenced.

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All this is in keeping with the methods described in the Alamannic and Bavarian laws of the early seventh century.

There is the same correspondence in the process The reserby which an absolute donation is made to the vation of occupancy Church to last for all eternity, or 'till the day of with food-rents. judgment,' whilst at the same time continued usufruct of the property is permitted to the donor or his family on payment of the customary food-rent. Where else can be found among British records anything like the habitual use of what quotations from the Alamannic and Bayarian laws and from the Rules of St. Benedict prove to have been common forms in use on the Continent in the sixth and seventh centuries?

The origin of these forms of donation in the development of Roman law has been clearly described at length by the late M. Fustel de Coulanges.1 There was first the simple donation with a reservation of the usufruct. The Roman law allowed even the devise by the testator of the property to one person with. out the usufruct, which went in that case to his heir.

But there was also the other method by which, having made a donation, the donor received back the usufruct as a benefice or as a precaria. M. de Coulanges pointed out that originally the transaction in such cases was a triple one. First came the absolute donatio. Secondly came the petitio for continued

¹ Les Origines du Système Féodal, c. iv. and c. v.

user. Thirdly, the transaction was completed by the præstatio on the part of the new owner, by which the donor received permission to continue the occupation as a precaria. But ultimately the processes were more or less united in one transaction, and recorded in a single document.

Consistent with continental methods.

Thus both methods resulted practically in very much the same thing. The St. Gall charters sometimes take one form and sometimes the other. They both were connected with the practice of commendation which had grown into importance under the peculiar circumstances described by Salvian—the Gildas of Gaul—and both were probably equally familiar to the ecclesiastics of Brittany and South Wales.

To which of the two classes the Cadoc donations belong it is not perhaps easy to determine. In the meantime it is enough for this inquiry, if,

without claiming that the records were often contemporary with the donations, the facts they record may be taken as substantially authentic. We are not dealing with them here as title-deeds to properties, but as evidence of tribal habits and customs at the time of the first contact between the chieftains and the Church. And surely, all things taken together, it can hardly be considered likely, or even possible, that any monastic scribe of a later century could so far anticipate modern historical methods as to acquire the knowledge and the skill whereby he could put himself so completely into the atmosphere of the sixth century as to be able to forge records such as these of St. Cadoc and Llan Dav without at least a basis of contemporary authority.

The records not likely to be forged.

XI. VALUE OF THE EARLY EVIDENCE.

If, in conclusion, we may fairly regard these records, whether themselves strictly contemporary or not, as, in the main, describing with substantial correctness sixth-century transactions between tribal evidence. chieftains and the abbots of monastic churches, they have a value for the purpose of this inquiry which will justify the amount of attention bestowed upon them.

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Value of the early

Without entering into questions reserved for an other volume, there are two points to which special reference may be made.

First as to the food-rents. Passing by, for the The foodpresent, the remarkable resemblance between the the Cadoc food-rents of the Cadoc records and those of the servile and other holdings described in the Alamannic and Bavarian laws, it will be seen, upon closer examination, that the food-rents of the Cadoc records are arranged upon a system which, in principle, corresponds remarkably with that of the Welsh Codes.

rents of

The one case in which the food-rent was described as the cibaria for three nights in summer and three nights in winter illustrates the mention in the Dimetian Code of the obligation connected with the payment of the questva to light the chieftain's fire for three nights.

The provision for nights.

But apart from this direct allusion to the 'nights' entertainment' there is a system incidentally running through the records which shows that, as in the Codes, the holdings were arranged in multiples of a certain unit of possession or area from which the unit of food-rent was due.

The conthe foodrents with the land.

The donations are of larger or smaller areas of

The foodrents graduated in multiples of three modii of beer. land, varying from the lann and half-ager, up to the villa or pagus, and the food-rents rise accordingly. There are two cases each of a half-ager and one of a lann, and these each pay three modii of beer. There are two cases of the full ager with a food-rent of six modii of beer. There are two cases of villae paying nine modii of beer, three cases of villae (one of them also called a pagus) and another of an ager, paying twelve modii of beer, and lastly one villa paying eighteen modii of beer. The food-rents embraced bread, flesh, and honey in addition; but it is obvious that the size of the donation was measured by its food-rent in multiples of the unit of three modii of beer.

There are no data affording ground even for a guess as to which of the multiples of the unit of three modii corresponded with the 'three nights' entertainment,' and even if there were such data it would be too much to expect exact correspondence between the food-rents of the Cadoc donations and those of the Codes. It is enough if the correspondence in principle between the food-rents of the Codes, of the entries in the margin of the 'Book of St. Chad,' and of the Cadoc records is close enough to warrant the inference that the system of food-rents with local or temporal differences was substantially the same throughout, and that it formed an essential element in the arrangements of tribal society in Wales from the time of the Cymric invasion or a still earlier period to the final conquest of North Wales.

spondence in principle with St. Chad food-rents and those of the Codes.

Corre-

The other point referred to as relevant to this part of the inquiry relates to the tenacity with which the tribal instinct of patriarchal and family, rather than individual, possession was maintained throughout.

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Perhaps it would be difficult to find a stronger proof of this than the fact that it was applied to what, family at first sight, would not seem to lend itself readily to such application. The Cadoc records, as already pointed out, are full of incidental evidence that even the proa chieftain could not make a donation without the concurrence of other members of his family. Even the chieftainship seems from the first to have been a family privilege and, in a way, shared by brothers or sons as though it were a family possession.

The tribal rule of ownership applied in the Cadoc records to perty of the chieftains. afterwards applied to ecclesiastical benefices in Wales.

Allusion has already been made to the harmony in this particular between the Codes and the Cadoc records as pro tanto evidence in support of the authenticity of the latter. But, conversely, the authenticity of the Cadoc records being granted, their evidence that this trait of the tribal system was in force from the first Cymric conquest of Wales becomes important.

When it is considered that in no fewer than seven of these records the donations are family donations, in the sense that the consent of others of the family of the chieftain making the donation was necessary to its validity, the evidence is very strong in confirmation of that of the Codes as to the family character of the chieftainship.

Again, the stipulation in the last record but one, that, after the donation to the monastery of St. Cadoc by the King Morcant and his foster-son and procurator Guengarth of a villa or pagus, 'no one should be procurator of this territory except Guengarth and his heirs,' is incidental evidence how early even CHAP. VII. tribal offices under the chieftain tended to become hereditary in a family.

This is in complete harmony with the fact revealed by later evidence that even when a chieftain founded a church the same instinct resulted in the benefice being held as a family possession.

The evidence of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Giraldus Cambrensis was not slandering the Church, but giving unwilling testimony to the tenacity of a tribal instinct, when he complained that nearly all the Welsh churches had as many parsons and coparceners as there had been families of chief men (uchelwrs) in the parish. He also complained that sons obtained the benefices by succession from their fathers, not by election but by inheritance, and that the institution of any other person would lead to acts of revenge on the part of the kin. He adds that these two abuses were evidently inherently British, inasmuch as they prevailed in Brittany also.

Example in the case of Caergybi.

The existence of portionary or tribal churches in Wales appears also in the 'Taxatio' of St. Nicholas in A.D. 1291, and as an actual instance of the application of tribal rules to ecclesiastical patronage it is only necessary to refer to the case of Caergybi in Anglesey, to which Mr. A. Neobard Palmer called attention, and the facts of which he was able to trace with remarkable success in the Record of Carnaryon.²

In this case two chieftains seem in the twelfth century to have joined in restoring the ruined church

^{1 &#}x27;Ecclesiæ vero istorum omnes fere tot personas et participes habent, quot capitalium virorum in parochia genera fuerint.'— Desc. Camb. lib. ii. c. vi.

² Portionary Churches of Mediaval North Wales, annexed to Mr. Palmer's 'History of the Parish Church of Wrexham.'

or monastery of Caergybi, and in the record of Carnarvon and another document of the fourteenth century the weles sprung from these two chieftains are still found to possess fractional rights of patronage to the canonries—rights which had descended to them according to the rules of tir gweliawc.

This is a late illustration of the extent to which the tribal system in Wales, as in Ireland, forced even ecclesiastical arrangements into its mould. And it adds interest to the earlier evidence of the same tendency already visible in the Cadoc records. In spite of the Continental form of the records on the ecclesiastical side, the recorded transactions themselves are distinctly those of tribal chieftains acting under tribal custom already formed and in force.

It was not without great hesitation that the substantial authenticity of these records was admitted, but, once admitted, the importance of their evidence made it necessary to give to them due place in this volume.¹

ing in the Church of St. Cadoc covered with gold and silver,' and as used by the Welsh for taking oaths upon, in Caradoc of Lancarvon's Life of Gildas (Usher's Works, v. 535).

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The rights of patronage became subject to the rules of the tir gwelianc.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. M. R. James, of King's College, Cambridge, for the suggestion that the Cadoc records may have been copied out of a Gospel book of Cadoc's Church, such a one being mentioned as 'yet remain-



CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

CHAP. VIII. THROUGHOUT this volume attention has been purposely confined almost exclusively to the strictly Welsh evidence.

Cymric tribal system has been examined on its own evidence, and why? Further light may undoubtedly be thrown upon the Cymric tribal system by extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems, and by a careful use of the comparative method. But in this volume the object has been to obtain a solid and independent foundation to be used as a stepping-stone to further research. And it seemed best to do this by the examination of the Cymric tribal system on its own evidence.

The reader will be able to judge how far this object has been substantially attained.

The description in the Codes confirmed by evidence from two opposite poles.

If, on the one hand, the facts recorded in the Denbigh and other Extents by the surveyors have been found to be the natural results of the long-continued use of the rules of customary tribal law collected and recorded in the Codes and other legal treatises, and if, on the other hand, the authenticity of their description of tribal custom has been in some main points corroborated by the records of sixth-century donations to the monasteries, then it may fairly be said that the picture of tribal society

derived from the Codes has received confirmation from two opposite poles.

CHAP. VIII.

In both cases, too, the evidence comes from outside of the tribal system itself, and from disinterested, legally trained, and independent witnesses.

On the one hand, Norman surveyors, coming upon the tribal system full of manorial theories and used to manorial phraseology, found themselves compelled against their own instincts to describe large districts as still occupied by weles of tribesmen embracing descendants down to great-grandchildren and paying from time immemorial their quota of commuted food-rents. And again Norman lawyers, putting into their own legal language the donations of half-Anglicised tribal chieftains, found it needful to make the kinsmen and families of the chieftains join in the grants. Norman evidence on these points was reluctant and convincing.

Strength evidence Norman surveyors.

In the same way, on the other hand, Gallie ecclesi- The inciastics of the sixth century or later, accustomed to Roman law and to the use of Merovingian formulæ, found themselves under a similar necessity. Their Gallic incidental description of the habits of tribal chief- astics tains, the family character of their tribal donations equally of land, and the prevalence of food-rents in the sixth as in the thirteenth century, when admitted as substantially authentic, was as impartial and convincing in its way as that of the later Norman surveyors.

evidence of sixthcentury ecclesiequally cing.

Thus supported by extrinsic evidence from two quarters, before and after an interval of six centuries, the description of the tribal system in Wales contained in the Codes and legal treatises can no longer, CHAP. VIII.

The fact of the existence of tribal custom explains the Codes and other treatises. it is submitted, be regarded with the same suspicion as may have been heretofore justified.

The existence of a body of tribal custom extending over so many centuries being now proved on independent and outside evidence, the character of the documents themselves becomes more easily understood. It becomes natural that at various times and in various localities collections of tribal rules and customs should be made, such as those which have come down to us of more or less merit and authority. The fact that some of them are modern, and yet contain ancient traditions of tribal rules in the form of Triads on the one hand and adaptations of modern forms of pleadings to Welsh customs on the other hand, no longer need raise suspicion of invention and literary dishonesty. For the tribal system was not a system coined by one brain and enacted by one lawgiver at a particular date. Its customary rules had grown up with the Cymric tribe in Northern Cumbrian lands as well as in the old Cymric district of Powys. Subject more or less to modification and growth, the structure of tribal society in its main features had existed in Wales from the first coming of Cunedda and his sons to the conquest of Edward I. It had lingered on, suffering, no doubt, partial disintegration, till the substitution of English for Welsh law under Henry VIII.

The Venedotian, Dimetian, and Gwentian Codes, traditionally dating back to the time of the first attempt to commit tribal customs to writing under Howell the Good, contain undisguised additions of later date. These additions imply the previous existence of the main body of custom, and in no way

CHAP

suggest its modern origin. The more private and recent treatises, written after the conquest, add greatly to our knowledge of ancient custom, without professing to add anything to its authority.

The conquest itself, and the necessary inquiries of Norman lawyers into the mysteries of tribal law, may well have been the direct cause of the making of some of these collections; and the fact that Welsh law was not abolished till the statute of Henry VIII., and not forgotten till the Crown lawvers of Queen Elizabeth brought the various classes of tenants—free tribesmen and non-tribesmen—under some category of English law, explains the possibility of even very late versions of old tribal custom. But the later the version and the farther it was removed from the time when ancient tribal custom existed in its full force, the more difficult would it be for its author to invent a body of custom from which it would be possible to arrive at the principles and details of the structure of a tribal society such as that examined in the foregoing pages.

The strongest possible proof that such a tribal The society as is described in the Codes and treatises once existed in Wales must after all be found in the fact that, so far from its being isolated in its charac- proof of ter, it is so full of analogies, and bears in its structure marks of such close relationship to other tribal systems, that it is quite impossible to believe it could have been the result of later invention or imposture. This intrinsic evidence, after all, is the strongest proof of its substantial authenticity.

On the whole, therefore, recurring to the object of this volume and its place in the wider economic

intrinsic evidence strongest after all.

CHAP. VIII. inquiry of which it forms only a part, it is with some confidence that the tribal system in Wales is placed before economic students as worthy of careful study.

No attempt has been made to forestall the results of further critical examination of Celtic manuscripts by competent Celtic scholars, or to exhaust the rich materials for Welsh history which lie all but unused in the Public Record Office.

The real knowledge of one tribal system the best steppingstone to a knowledge of others.

New material will be discovered, and that imperfectly made use of in this volume will require repeated reconsideration. Some of the inferences drawn from it will, no doubt, need correction. But in so far as the attempt has been approximately successful to place the knowledge of the main features of one single tribal system upon a solid foundation of evidence, a step at least will have been gained towards a knowledge of other tribal systems and of their place in economic history.

The further pursuance of the inquiry, with reference chiefly to the methods of this and other tribal societies, must be left to another volume.





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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A a.

EXTENT OF ANGLESEY, 22 EDW. I., 13 MARCH, A.D. 1294.

Rentals and Surveys Roll 768, Public Record Office.1

ANGLESEYA.

Extenta facta de villa de Lammas die Lune in castino scii Gregor Anno Regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo scido.

APP. A a.
A.D.
1294.

De Redd Burgagioz vitt de Lammas p annū—viij. lī .viij. š .v. đ . õ qª.

šs Smª-viij. lĩ .viij. š .v. đ . ob qa.

De xiij carucat terr que sunt in ânico Maner de Lammas videlt de qalib; carucat xxx. s.

 $\tilde{s}s$ Sm^a —xx. $l\tilde{i}$.x. \tilde{s} .

De quodam pato ibid p annū .xxx. š.

De gardin Manii p annu-vj. 3 .viij. d.

De q^odam molend aq^atico .C. s. Et aliud Molend in eod Mañio obrutu de quo nich.

šs Sma-vj. lī .xvj. š . viij. đ.

De passag eiusdm p annū—xij. lī. De quol; doleo vini Exit⁹ t cuis venientis ad portum t cariag de portu usq. ad villam port⁹ sumptib; Reg .x. d. De custum Mesyaz allec vendic vid; p .v. Meyš .j. d . que valet .x. š. De quolib; batello

¹ The 'copy' herein referred to is Rentals and Surveys Roll 769, P.R.O.

APP. A a.

A.D.

1294

piscant allec exeunte vi ingrediente portum .j. Meis Regi p .ij. s . que custumma val; p annū xvij. s. De custūma cui libet nauis applicant ad portū . iiij. d . que valet .xxvj. s .viij. d. D custuma batelloz quoz quilib; semel in annū cariare deb victual dni Reg .xvj. s. D .v. passagiariis port que debnt sumptib; ppiis in batello Reg face passagiū p una caruc t duab; bouat terr quas tenēt .xv. s .viij. d. D Theoloneo Carroz carianciū corea lanas t alias M' candis nūdinar pañ cuis Medoñ carnificū pistoz sutoz p annū .viij. lī .viij. s. D furno Reg .xl. s. D quol; bracineo cuis .xxx. lag p .vij. d . ob . de quo .lx. s. D opac ville de Lammas vid; . Metend cariand t hciand .xxvj. s .viij. d. De amc Cur releuiis t aliis pquis .xij. lī .x. s.

šs Smª—xliij. lī .x. š .x. d.

šs Sm^a to[†]. vil† de Lammas—Lxxviij. lĩ.v. š.xj. đ. ob q^a.

Commot⁹ de Dyndaythow.

De Redd ass . vill de Thlandeuenay .Lvj. s ij. d.

Iîm de potur .xxiiij. s.

ss Sma—iiij. lī .ij. d.

De Redd ass vilt de Bathaûneneytha .Lxvij. § .vj. d.

Đ potur ei9sđ .xxx. s.

šs Smª .iiij. lĩ .xvij. š .vj. đ.

De redd ass vilt de Bathauwyon cū potura .Lxxviij. s .viij. d.

šs Smª—Lxxviij. š .viij. đ.

De redd ass vilt de Pentreyth .Lxxiiij. § .iiij. d . õ.

Đ potur ei⁹đ ville .xxx. s.

ss Smª Ciiij. š .iiij. đ . ob.

De redd ass vilt de Castilheuthlaur .viij. § .x. d . õ.

Đ potur ei⁹đ .iiij. š.

ss Smª .xij. š .x. d . ob.

De redd ass vilt de Dynthylow t de suic hoïm eigd .xxij. s .iiij. d.

Đ potra eigd-.xlvj. š .iiij. đ.

šs Sma-Lxviij. š .viij. d.

De redd ass de Bodeueneu .xxvj. s .viij. d.

Đ Đnico ei⁹đm .vj. 3.

Đ potur ei⁹đ .xlvj. š .iiij. đ.

De consuetudine ? suic hoim eisam .xiij. s .x. d.

šs Smª .iiij. lĩ .xij. š .x. đ.

Đ redđ ass vilt de Chstelbulhen .xviij. s .iij. đ.

šs Smª .xviij. š .iij. d.

Đ redđ asš vilt de Perkyr .v. š.

Đ potur ei⁹đ .iij. š.

šs Smª-viij. š.

D redd ass vilt de Portaythowe Cons ? Suic .x. s.

Đ passağ ei⁹đ .Liij. š .iiij. đ.

šs Smª .Lxiij. š .iiij. d.

D redd ass cons t suic ville de Garytegwain vj. s.j. d.

šs Sma-vj. š.j. d.

Đ redđ asš ville de Trefforbolch .iij. š .iiij. d.

šs Smª—iij. š .iiij. đ.

Đ redđ ass ville de Cremelynhelyn .iij. š .iiij. đ.

De potur ei⁵d-xiij. š .ix. đ.

šs Sma-xvij. š.j. d.

Đ aduocar toci9 cōmoti pdci .xvij. š .ij. đ.

šs Sma-xvij. š.ij. d.

šs Sma. toł. hui Comot—xxxiij. lī.viij. š.iiij. d. pt.

Extenta Manii de Abberfray.

Primo . dicunt qd in Man io de Abberfrau sunt .v. carucat tre t vat carucat p annu .xxx. s.

šs Smª—vij. lī .x. š.

Item sunt ibi .iij. Molend . que Reddit ¹ p annū lx crannoc blad t vat cannoc .ij. š.

šs Sm^a—vj. lï.

Itm de duob; pat q vat p annu .xiij. š .iiij. đ.

APP. Aa

A.D. 1294.

¹ So in the Record.

APP.A a.

A.D.
1294.

Redd liboz teñ ei d'

Mahii.

It de qad piscar q vat p annu .ij. s.

šs Smª .xv. š .iiij. đ.

De reda liboz teñ eiºa ville .xxix. š .viij. a.

It de Hameletto de Bodeueurykt de redd ass .xv. s .xj. d. Itm de Hameletto de Trefwaspatrykt de redd ass libe ten .x. s.

Đ villañ ei9đ ville de Tunk (.v. š .vj. đ.

Đ eisđm villañ in farina butir t lacte t opar .xiij. š .vij. đ . ob.

Đ Hameleto de Trefberewet de redđ.ix. villañ.ix. š.viij. đ.

Đ iiijor canoc far ordei .v. š .iiij. đ.

Đ .ix. Multoñ .iiij. š .vj. đ.

Đ ix agnis xviij. đ. de eisđm villañ de butiro .ij. š.iij. đ.

Đ. C.iiij. oũ .vij. đ.

Đ . ix. galliñ ix. đ.

Đ dčis ix hõib3 xxxvj. š .ij. đ . õ p opat . Clxj. diei.

šs Smª—vj. lĩ .xv. š .vj. đ.

Đ Hameleto de Dyncloydan de redđ uni⁹ villañ .ij. š. vid; de Đd Hibnico vil mediet blað t lact qd vocat^r M ionuth.

Đ filiis Grigori ab Lewelyn de una cannoc fri t iiijor Cannoc auen viij. š.vj. đ.

Đ eisđm de duob; Multon xij. đ.

De duob; agnis iiij. d.

Đ eisđm de butir vj đ.

Đ eisđ de .xl. ouis j. đ. õ.

Đ eisđm de vj galliñ vj. đ.

Đ eisđ de op xxx. diez .iij. š .ix. đ.

Đ Pellipar de dimiđ c^annoc far ordei de Međ uni⁹ Multon de Međ uni⁹ agni . Đ .x. cunis de butir de Međ uni⁹ galline xiij. đ . ō . Đ opac ei⁹đ vij. diez .xj. đ . q^a

Sma-xviij. š .ix. đ . qa.

De Hameleto de Weuentefrau de redd villanoz ei⁹d .iij. š jiij. d.

D eisd de uno angno I dimid Angñ de butir de xxx cunis APP. Aa. de .v. galliñ 't dimid 't de uno istor bladi de opac t'um diez .xviij. d. o. t Respond de Myonnyth cu villan de Trefberewet.

A.D. 1294.

D villañ de Aberfraw de redd ass dcoz villanoz viij. s .viij. đ.

D eisd de .x. cannoc t dimid fri.

D .vij. canc far auen.

Đ .iiijor. cannoc far ordei .xlviij. š .vij. đ.

Đ.ix. villañ ei⁹đ ville de lact tium vaccaz. de iiijor Multoñ dimid.

D .ix. angnis . de butir.

Đ .CL. oũ.

De xxvij galliñ-xvj. š .iij. đ.

P.vj. tenem vastis . de tib3 Multon . D.vj. angnis . de .ix. galliñ de butiro.

De C. ou .v. s.j. d.

Itm sunt in dca villa .ix. villani de qib; xxvij gallin .ij. 3 .iij. đ.

Đ quol3 eo3 opač tium diez ad sercland blad t vat opačo eoz .ij. 8 .iij. d . q. quilib3 eoz recipit unu panem p diem.

Đ eisđ villañ p igne t stamine in Cur đni Reg .xxx. š.

Itm de opac in Autupno de CCC hoib; quos .xv. villani

de Manio inuenient. I de iiij hõib; quos villani forinsec de Cantred inueniet .Lxvj. & .ix. d.

Itm de . DC . horb; t equis ad hciand p unu die Lxxv. 3. p diem j. đ. õ.

Itm de pquis Cur. de Aberfraw .xl. s.

D pastur .xx. §

Itm de dcis villan de Aberfraw .x. cannoc auen ad pbend .vj. š .viij. đ.

Smª .xvj. lĩ .vj. š .iiij. đ . ob.

Sma tot-xxxviij. li .v. š .xj. d . õ . qa.

Extenta de Cantred de Aberfrau.

APP. Aa. D redd ass de Tounsok (° † aliis Hamelet de pgēie Hona

A.D. viij. lī v. s.

1294.

Itm de eisd vilt .xl. cannoc farie auen p. iiij. li.

Itm .x. cannoc fri pc .xx. s.

ss Smª .xiij. lĩ .v. š.

Đ vilt de Trefoweyn de redđ . lite tenenc .xxxiij. š .xj. đ . ö.

šs Sma-xxxiij. š .xj. đ . õ.

Đ vilt de Kelemok (de redā ass libe teñ .xvj. s . de villa de Bodelowe . de redā ass libe teñ .ij. s .vj. ā.

Đ vilt de Thwayn de redđ ass libe tenent .xxxvij. s.

Itm de ead vilt de ten Map Ad Goch xl s.

šs Sma—iiij. lĩ .xv. š .vj. đ.

 ${\bf D}$ vilt de Drianuylc
ħ 't Trefichod de red
đ asš liboz hõum . Liiij. š .ix. đ.

šs Smª .Liiij. š .ix. d.

Đ. vilt de Bodarchewrau de redd ass libe teñ.v. s.

Itm de iij cannoc t di far auen .vij. s.

šs Smª .xij. š.

Đ vilt de Crucanel de redđ asš libe teñ .vij. š .xj. đ. It de .iij. cannoc far .vj. š.

šs Smª .xiij. š .xj. đ.

Đ vilt de ¹ Griffry de redd ass libe teñ .x. s.

It de vilt de Bochornach de redd ass libe ten .xxiij. s .v. d . o.

Đ vilt filioz Meurik e de redđ villanoz .xix. š .iiij. đ . õ t Iacent in vasto .iij. bouat terr.

It de fro uni⁹ cannoc dimid t j. buselt pc iiij. s .iiij. d . o. It iiijor. cannoc far auen pc viij. s.

Iĩm de potur .Dxx. horm p unu die .xliij. s .iiij. d . vid; p hore p unu die .j. d.

¹ T in the copy.

Itm de iiij equis q̃ valent .x. s̃ . vid; p equo .j. d̄ . õ.

Itm de quol; villañ unus porc^s . si ħuerint porc̃ . p̃c̃ xx. d̄.

De q^alib; domo una gallina de p̃c̃ .j. d̄ t̄ val; .ix. d̄.

APP. A a
A.D.
1294.

šs Smª .vj. lĩ .xj. đ . õ.

Đ vilt de Bodenaylwýn de redđ villanoz .v. š.

It de fro .ij. cannoc . pc .v. s.

It . iiij. or cannoc far auen t iij. buss pc .ix. s .vj. d.

Itm in potur .CCClx. hoim p unu die xxx. s.

It de potur .Cxx. eqis .xv. s.

It de qol; villano j. porc de pc .xx. d.

It de qol; villañ [j galliñ t] sunt viij vilt t vat . viij d.

ss Smª .Lxvj. s .x. d.

Đ vilt de Trefolyn de redd ass . cons t aliis suic .x. s .x. d.

šs Smª .x. š .x. d.

Đ vilt de [Thledwygant]hles de redd ass liboz hoïm .xxiiij. š .ix. d.

Đ .j. cannoc far aue ij. š.

šs Smª .xxvj. š .ix. đ.

Đ vilt de [Bodbetwyn] de[redð asš] liboz hoïm .xxj. š .iij. ð.

Smª .xxj š .iij đ.

Đ vilt de [Trefdrefvastrondeon] de redd ass libe teñ Lxiij. s.

It de iiij^{or}. c^annoc far . aue . dimid t .ij. ptib; .j. busšix. š .iij. đ.

It de d[uob; lagen butir] x. d.

šs Smª .Lxxiij. š .ij. đ.

Đ vilt de Trefdrefdysteyn de redđ asš iiij lb xvj. š.x. đ. õ qª. de una cªnnoc̃ fri . Đ una cªnnoc̃ aueñ t dimiđ t de xij [ferr̃] equox vj š vj. đ.

šs Smª .C .iij. š .iiij. đ . õ . qª.

Đ vilt de Badaon 1 de redt ass .xxij. s .iiij. t.

¹ Bodaon in the copy.

Extent of Anglesey, 1294

APP. Aa.

šs Sma . xxij š . iiij đ.

A.D. 1294.

- Đ vilt de Dorodeweyt de redđ ass . viij s viij đ.
- šs Smª. viij š viij d.
- Đ vilt de Trefwalkemay de redđ asš .xviij. š .ij. đ . de duob; cannoc far aŭe t ij . ptib; uni cannoc v. š .iiij. đ.
 - ss Smª . xxiij š vj. đ.
 - Đ vilt de [Trygor] de redđ asš .xij. š .iiij. đ.
 - ss Smª .xij. š .iiij. đ.
 - Đ vilt de [Dryndrovelt] de redā ass [xxxviij š . iiij ā ob].
 - [Đ iiij] cannoc fri .x. š.
 - Đ [vij] cannoc far auen xiiij š.
- ${\bf D}$ iij vaš [but]ur̃ . [xij š de eađm vilt cum duob
3 villanis de Trefdraes de potur̃].

De potur .Lxxij. eq [ix s . De] potur CCxl. horm t caniū xx. s.

[ss Smª].Ciij. s.iiij. đ õ.

- Đ vilt de Rosm[awr de Redd ass .xx. s].
- Đ potur [1]j eq .xviij. s .x. đ . õ.
- Đ potur [de .D. horm] p unu die .L. s.
- šs Sma iiij lī viij š x đ õ.
- Đ vilt de [Keuentrefraw] de redđ asš iij š iiij đ . de

potur . iiij equoz x s . de potur . CCxl hoim t caniū xx. s.

šs Smª .xxxiij. š .iiij. đ.

- Đ omib3 villañ de dca Cantreda de vj cannoc fri . xv s.
- Đ .xix. cannoc far auen xxxviij. š.
- Đ viij cannoc aueñ ad pt .v. š .iiij. đ.

De xxvij galliñ .ij. š .iij. đ.

- Đ quol3 unu porcu si nuerint de pcio .xx. đ.
- It qil3 eoz debet arrare semel in annū q̃ val3. xxiiij s viij d.
 - šs Sma .iiij. lī .vj. š .xj. đ.
 - D placif 't pquis Cantrede de Aberfraw .xl. s.
 - ss Smª .xl. s.

šs Sm^a to[†] Cantrede de Aberfrau—Lxv. lĩ .xvij. š .vij. d . App. Aa.

õ . q .

Extenta Man'ii de Kemmeys.

Primo dicūt q̃d sūt in Manlio de Kemmeys .iiijor. carucat terr̃ p̃c caruc .xxx. š . p annū.

ss Smª vj. lĩ.

Đ iiijor . patis . ibiđ que valent p annū xx. š.

De gardino ibid .xl. d.

 $\mathbf D$ tⁱb $\mathfrak z$. Molenđ . iiij cranno $\tilde c$ farine aue $\tilde n$ viij. lĩ $\stackrel{\mathsf{xx}}{\mathsf{p}}\tilde c$ cranno $\tilde c$ ij. $\tilde s$.

De piscar ibid .iij. š . iiij đ.

šs Smª .ix. lī .vj. š .viij. đ.

Đ redđ asš libe teñ ville de Kemmeys .Cvj. 3 .xj. đ.

šs Smª .Cvj. š .xj. đ.

Đ villañ . ei⁹đ ville de aliis conš . T suic . p annū .xiij . lī. .xiiij s.

šs Sma xiij lī xiiij š.

Đ placiť t pquiš Cur .xl s.

šs Sma xl. š.

šs Sma tot Manii de Kemmeys .xxxvj. lī .vij. š .vij. đ. pt.

Extenta Comot de Talboleon.

Đ redđ asš vilt de Tref nedeuent de libo teň xxxvij. š . đ

šs Smª xxxxij. š.ij. d.

Đ vilt de Thlanvugel Thledwyghan 1 de redð asš .xj. š.

šs Smª .xj. š.

 ${\bf D}$ vilt de Threfchlawrch . de redd ass liboz teñ . ei $^{\sharp}$ d ville xlviij. s̃.

šs Smª .xlviij. š.

Đ vilt de Codanewe de redđ asš vij. š vij. đ. õ.

šs Smª .vij. š vij. đ . õ.

¹ Thledwygan only in the copy.

APP. Aa. D vilt de Bodaok e de redd ass .xj. s.

A.D. 1294. šs Smª .xj. š.

 ${\bf D}$ vil
† de Carnethour de villanis ei 9 đ de Tunk
 ℓ xiiij š iiij đ.

De eisdm villañ p potur t cons Lxij s v. d. De terra Yarward fit Maddocy viij s iij. d.

D tomic matically illamic

Đ terris vastis ei⁹đ ville xj. š.

šs Smª .iiij. lĩ .xvj. š.

Đ redđ asš . ville de Trefwadokę .xlix. š .viij. đ.

šs Smª .xlix. š .viij. đ.

Đ redđ ass liboz vilt de Kemelyn .xix. s .xj. đ.

De villañ ei⁹đ ville p potur t aliis suic .xxxiij. š. viij. đ.

šs Smª .Liij. š .vij đ.

Đ vilt de Kardekande de redđ asš liboz hoim Lxxvj. š.

šs Smª .Lxxvj. š.

D vilt de Thlegarn de redd ass liboz hoïm Lix s.v. d.

šs Smª .Lix. š .v. d.

Đ vilt de Bronewey t Conternowe de redd ass. liboz hoim .xxix. š .xj. đ.

šs Sma xxix š xj. d.

Đ villa de Aberhalowe de redđ asš liboz hoim v. š.

De villanis ei⁹ d ville de Tunge .xvij. š vj. d.

de eisdm villanis p potur l aliis suic .xxiij. š .v. đ.

de îra At Ruffy di m.

Đ fra Map Porth vj. š.

de tra Hona fit Keñ .v š.

de fra sui garcilis ij. š .v. đ.

šs Smª .Lxvj. š.

Đ vilt de Bodewygan de redd asš .xiij đ.

šs Smª xiij đ.

Đ villa de Thalanuoyl de potur t opac villanoz ei t ville—iiij. lī .xvij. š . ob.

ss Sma iiij li xvij s ob.

D vilt de Carnethur de Tung .v. § , de potur t aliis cons .xj. § .iiij. đ.

šs Smª .xvj. š .iiij đ.

APP. A a.

D vilt de Thlandogewel de Tung .xx. d. de potra t aliis cons .viij s iiij d.

A.D. 1294

ss Smª x s.

Đ vilt de Bodewarnan de redđ villanoz x 3.

Smª .x §.

D vilt de Boderonyn de redd t cons villanoz xxvj. s .vj. d.

šs Smª xxvi š vi d.

Đ vilt de Meriogan de cons villanoz .xxiiij s.

šs Sma xxiiij š.

D vilt de Trefnegoch de redd potur t cons villanoz xxiiij s ix đ õ qª.

Smª .xxiiij š ix đ õ qª.

D ptexionib; eiusam Commoti viij s j d.

šs Smª viij š į d.

Đ pquiš ei⁹đ Commoti xl. š.

šs Smª xl. š.

šs Sma tot hui9 Comoti .xl. lī .iij š .ij đ o qa

ръ.

Extenta Manii de Penros.

Đ redđ asš ei⁹đ Mahii . Lviij š iiijđ.

Itm de eod p psentacom iuratoz . xxiij s xj d.

. . . error

Đ đnico . iiijor carucat terr t vat caruc .xxx. s.

tenta ...

Itm de tib; Molend iiij. lī .vj. š .viij. d . de potur CC .x. original

hoîm . CCCC . ij . eq°z . Cix š õ qª.

de redd blad iiij li xiiij š j. d.

It de M')yonnith lactis cuis d' Rustici viij. s.ix. d.

Đ redđ butir xj. š .vij. đ.

D blado ad pbenđ Palefrid đni ij s.

D angñ . I gallinis vj š viij đ.

D redd ferr fabr . iij s.

APP. A a.

de ouis 't butir vj d.

A.D. 1294. De cariag turbaz t trbis x s.

Đ liteř dĩ mªr.

Opa t cons vilt de Penros. šs Smª .xxvij lĩ xiiij đ. õ. qª.

Đ villañ. eiusđm p suicio in Autūpno. Sc; p.iij. Menš. sing†m. Menš. p viij dies. s. singlo. diez p xxxvj hoïes. qd suic valet p die singulo j. d. õ—C. viij š. De xiij. Cotelt p opib; xiij hoïm p iij dies in autūpno qd suic valet iiij š x d õ. de opib; xx. equoz sine garcion ad ħciand tēpe

yemali . p unū diē q̃d valet xx. đ . De opib3 .vj. equoz xx + v. garč ad ħcianđ tēpe qadrag . p unū diē q̃d valet xl. š.

Đ opib3. xviij gaueloz quoz quil3 deb3 ħciar p.iij. Mens. vid3 p iiij.x. dies cū uno equo t uno garcõe. qd val. xiij lī. x s.

 $\mathfrak D$ eis
đ
m de opib
3 extahenciū fimū cū xx . equis $\mathfrak T$ garcõem p
 unū diē .xl. đ.

Sma-xxj. lî .vij. ŝ .x. đ . ob.

Smª Mañii de Penros .xlviij. lĩ .ix. š .j. đ . qª.

[On a small parchment schedule sewed on to the Roll the following appears.]

Videt \tilde{q} d sit error in extenta Manerii de Penros in ptičlis $\tilde{s}bsc^ip\tilde{t}$. Vidett : de redđ eiusđm Ma \tilde{m} ii . Potura ho \tilde{m} \tilde{t} eq o \tilde{z} . Et redđ bladi . que i \tilde{d} o sunt cruce signati in extenta.

Sm^a .xiiij. lĩ .v. š .iiij. đ . ob q^a . Qui resp^ctuant^r p errore usq, sup comp Camarii . corā consilio Pⁱnc p peticonem villanoz de Penros ad pliamentū tmīo sci Hillarii . Anno Regni Reg Edwardi Tricesimo tercio.

Commot⁹ de Turkelyn.

D redđ asī ville de Henescot vj. š .viij. đ. šs Sm^a .vj. š .viij. đ.

Slagoruc 1 7 Sleckou cū ptiñ de redđ asš j mac.

APP. Aa.

A.D. 1294.

Đ potur eozđ xxij s iiij đ.

Đ tra G'uasii fit Phi que núc est in manu Reg xxiij š

šs Smª . Lix š .vj. d.

Sistulas cū ptiň de villa pdča cū villis si respondentib; iij lī vij š vj. đ.

šs Smª . viij lĩ vij š vj. đ.

Đ hõib; de Curchlayt Manentib; šr teñ de Sistulas . p otur . Lxviij hoïm . Lxviij canū t iiijor eq xj. š .x d.

šs Smª .xj. š x đ.

Đ redđ ass ville de Reccow . xlviij s viij đ.

šs Smª . xlviij š viij đ.

Bodaneu t Bodenawyn cū ptiñ de eisd de redd ass vj. lĩ xvij s iiij đ.

šs Smª .vj. lĩ .xvij š iiij đ.

Đ potur ei⁹đ p CCCL . hõibz . Lxxv . canū l Lxxv . Codanou l Bothq p unū diē qd val xl s vij đ õ.

Đ opib; p tres dies in Autumpno singlo die p xvj hoïes id vat xvj. s . singlo pc p die j. đ o.

de Lx . galt t iiijor angnis eozđ v. S .vj. d.

Đ M ionith ei t cũ vilt adiac . š . Rosmanach Bodeueney t Dery iiij lĩ vij š j đ õ.

de eisdm vj cannoc auen que vat iiij s.

It de eisd p adagiis . xj s iiij đ.

šs Sma-vij lī xiiij š vij đ.

Đ redđ asš teñ ei⁹đ x š.

Bode ueneu.

Đ opib; xv hoĩm in eađ villa ad metenđ p unū diē q̃d vat xxij. đ. ob.

It de xv. galt 't uno angno .xvj. d.

It de tib; crannoc fri de redd vij s vj d.

ss Sma xx s ix d õ.

¹ Tlagoruc in the copy.

APP. Aa. D redđ ei⁹đm. iij š iiij đ. de opib; xxvij hoïm ad metenđ A.D. p unū diem. iij š iiij đ ob.

1294. Itm de xxvij galt 't uno angñ de redd ij s v d.

Rosmangh. Itm de uno ten ei^ođ j c^annoc fri qd val; .ij. s vj đ.

šs Sma xj š vij đ õ.

Derý. De opib; .xxiiij. hoim ad metend p j . diem . iij s.

It de xxiiij galt tangñ t di ij i ij t de iiij villanis supadčis . s . Boteynok Bodeueneu Rosmangh t Dery . p potuř CCCC . hoim .CC. canū .CC. eq p unū die .Lxxv. i.

šs Smª .iiij. lī .iij. đ.

Bode- D redđ ij s vj. đ.

wryt. Itm p potur . xlix hom . xlviij canū t iij eq p unū diem viij s v đ o.

It de uno cannot far auen .ij. s.

ss Sma . xij s xj. đ õ.

Slorat- Đ redđ ei⁹đ dĩ m̃.

henryet. Troscloyndysteynet de redd di m.

Đ Bedelt toữ cōmot de redd ij s vj đ.

It p eisdm ij cannoc fri v s.

It p viij cannoc t tcia pte j . cannoc far auen xvj s viij d.

Đ aduocař v. š x đ.

D batelt de portu de Dulas .xx. d.

ss Smª xlv. s.

Nan- Đ redđ ass ei⁹đ. Lx s ij đ.

maur It de vij cannoc t di fri de redd xviij. 3 . ix d. Sudon

 $Vach^{a}n$ It de xxviij $c^{a}nno\tilde{c}$ dimid iij buss farn au \tilde{e} . Liij \tilde{s} vj \tilde{d} .

p Regē. ss Smª .vj. lĩ .xij. s .v. đ.

ss Sma tot hui Comot . xliiij li ix s .j. d . o.

Extenta Comot de Mene.

Primo Rendunt 1 de dnico ppio Reg qd sunt in Manio de APP. Aa. Rofeyr .x. car terr de qib3 . vj caruc sut de dnico t iiijor de excaet t vat . quels . caruc .xxx. s.

A.D. 1294.

Smª . xv lî.

Itm de Gardino dni Reg. iij s.

It de iijb3. patis v. s.

It de pastur. xx 3.

It de tib; Molend que Rendunt 1 de iiij cannoc far t vat Cvi š viij đ pc cannoc .xvj. đ.

Regine p Regem

It de firmar t villanis de redd ass xxx s xj. d.

It de Albo & M'lionith vj s iij d.

It de eod vi cannoc fri t vat xv. s.

It de eod iii cannoc far ordei 't val iiii s.

It de villañ de xxij cannoc iij by far ordei t vat xxx s iiij đ.

It de xij villañ q tenet xij gauelt una teñ t rendunt 1 xij connoc t di far auen t val . xvj s viij d.

It de Fabris iiijor cannoc far ordei vat .v. 3 iiij d.

It de eisd villan iij cannoc auen . ad pb . palefr Reg xij d . pc cannoc iiij đ.

It de Liiijor galt de quib; xviij falcon t vat . iiij s vj d pc galt i d.

It de exeun villanoz . iij s iiij d.

It pdci villani debēt inuenir . CC .xl. eqos cū tot hõibz ad heiand t vat xxx. & pe opis equi j d t hois ob.

It debet Mete cu CCCC . hõib; p unu die t vat op . xxxiij š iiij d . Vid3 quil3 p diē .j. d.

It deb cariar . blad cū Lxxij hõib; t Lxxij eqis p unū die t vat . ix s vid; p hoie . ob . t equo j d.

Itm debnt extaere fimu cu xiiij eqis t vat op . xiiij d.

It det inuenir dno Ignem vel xx s.

¹ So in the Record.

APP. Aa. It de stamine x 3.

It de eisdm de quolz. hnte ples agnos qa.v. dabunt unu.

1294.
7 val iij s iiij d.

Itm de pdeis villan de quol; nente gallin .xx. oua .xx. d. Itm de ptitis t pquis Cur xl . s.

šs Sma. xx lī .vj. d.

ss Sma tot istius Mahlii .xxxv. lī . vj d.

Porthamal Geythrem'

D ead vilt de redd ass . iiij lī . xviij s iij d qa. ss Sma . iiij lī xviij s iij d qa.

Sode- D ead vilt de redd ass Lxix s vj d o.

wyndrū. ss Sma Lxix s vi d õ.

Srefarthen De ead vilt de redd ass xxvij s viij d.

Igaerwen. De ead vilt de redd ass. xij s viij d.
Randygadou. De ead vilt de redd ass. vij s iiij d.

Kaeruan. De ead vilt de redd ass .xj. s.

Ternocet. De ead vilt de redd ass . xxiij s iij d õ.

Trefolwyn

De ead vilt de redd ass . vj s v d.

Grukdowy

De ead vilt de redd ass . xxiiij s iiij d.

Myssoglen De [firmar] ei d vilt iiij s vj d.

It de potur Clxxij . horm Lvij equoz p unu die ab eisc firmar xxj s v d ob . Vid; p hore j d t p equo j d o.

Smª xxv. š xj. đ õ.

Boteuryda \mathbf{D} redð ass .x. \mathbf{d} .

It de ead vilt .viij. galliñ viij d.

Smª viij đ.

Denan. Dead vill p potura .CCC. xxix hoim \(^1\) C. ix eq xlj \(^2\) ob.

It de ead villa xiiij galt t vat xiiij s.

Sma xlij š ij đ õ.

Heyrdesweyth.

D ead vilt p potur de CLiiij horm .CC. xviij. eq . iiij li xx d.

D ead vilt xxx. galt t vat xxx. d.

It p arratur ei⁹d vilt q multū remota a Cur ij s vj d.

¹ Not in the copy.

It p aûag istius ville cū vilt pcedente iij š iiij d.

Smª iiij lĩ x š.

De redd ass eisd ville iij s iiij d.

It p potura. CClxxvij hoim t canu xxiij s j d.

Smª . xxvj š v d.

Đ redđ asš ei⁹đ viij š vj đ.

It p potur de D t iiij hoim t C. lxviij eq . Lxiij s.

It de xiiij galliñ xiiij d.

Itm de istis vj. vilt p Mionith xiij s iiij d.

It de ten de Skynioke de redd ass . vij d.

It .ij. cannoc fri . ij cannoc far auen ij cannoc far ordei 4 vat xj. š viij d.

It de terra Madvn ab Ad de redd vj. d.

Smª. iiij lī xviij š ix đ.

Đ eađ villa de redđ asš .xl. š viij đ.

Đ tib; hõib; eist ville de redt ass. ij š vị đ.

Đ ead vilt vị cannoc fri . t vat xv. s.

It xij cannoc bras auen .xij. s . pc cannoc xij đ.

It de uno Mens butir q valet iij s iiij d.

It .ij. cannoc far ordei q vat ij s viij d.

It .ij cannoc auen xvj. d.

It .ij. Multon t vat xvj. d.

It xvj galt xvj d.

It de exheuñ tam de butir qa ouis xvj d.

It de Dd Goth de Trefynan j bus fri t vat vij d o t uno buss far ordei t vat iiij đ.

It p pte dci Dd . exheuñ iij d.

It de eod de M'ionnith .ij. d.

It de quol; hente ples agnos qa .v. unu agnu l estimant xx agni de quib; . iij š iiij đ.

Smª . xliij š.

D ead vilt de fro . iiijor cannoc t iij buss .xj. s .x d o.

Tregarwet

APP. A a.

A.D. 1294.

Trefuweth.

Skeyoke

Roscolyn Crefscaweyn.1

Treme-

byon.

¹ Trefscaweyn in the copy.

APP. A a.

It de bras auen .ix. cannok . t di t val; ix s vi d.

A.D.

Itm de farina ordei una cannoc t di t val; ij s.

1294.

It de duab; ptib; uniº vas butir t tcia pte unius ptis uniº vas butir 't vat ij s vj đ o qa.

It de Multon xij đ o qa.

Itm de exheuñ eiºđ ville xvj. đ.

It de adag istius vilt t pcedent xx d.

It de quol; hente ptes agnos qa .v. unu agnu de quib; iij s iiii đ.

It de M'lionnith duaz dcaz vilt .iij. cannoc fri . iiijor cannoc far ordei iiijor crannoc far auen t valent xxiij s iiij d.

Itm de Albo vj s viij đ.

It de Lalwarchvoyl .v. s.

It de ead vilt i Crannoc auen ad pt . t valz viij d.

Itm de ptectionib; Re xix s iiij d.

Itm de pquis Cur xl. s.

Sma .vj. lî .viij. 8 .iiij đ.

Sma tot istius Comoti pr maner .xxxix. li .xj. đ.

D vilt de Bodeyhan de reda ass xiiij s iiij a.

Tra Epi in Cantrede.

Smª . xiiij š iiij đ.

D vilt Ion Maphython de redd ass cons t aliis suic xxxix § . ix đ ő.

Smª xxxix š . ix đ õ.

Smª total terr Eri . Liiij s j. d ob.

De quib3 allocantr vic .L. s, p carta Reg qam Eps ostendit.

I'lra Abb de Conewey.

De iiijor carucat terr in Manio de Cornuchles pc caruc xxvj š viij đ.

šs Smª Cvj š viij đ.

D uno Molend fracto de quo nt . de pastra xx s . de redd ass liboz teñ iiij lî . x s . viij đ . de villañ ei9đ ville de redđ v. §.

It p potur t aliis cons t suic . Liiij s iiij d.

šs Smª viij li x š.

Tursemon q est hamelett⁹ ptinens ad Gerneweles cū App. A a. hamelet de Westdrewy de redd ass istoz hamelet Cxvj s ix d.

A.D. 1294

šs Smª C .xvj. š .ix. đ.

Đ T bonmaylok (de fra Abt. de redt ass t aliis cons t suic. eist .xxxv. s.

šs Smª .xxxv. š.

šs Smª to[†] terr̃ Abb .xxj. lĩ .viij š v. đ.

ss Sma totał dce extente .CCCC iiij .iij. lī .x. s .xj. đ . qa.

Terre contente in extenta collate diusis hoïb; p Cartas R¢. post confeccõem extente pdce. De quib; vic no debet oflari in comp suo sup contentis in eadm extenta. Vidett.

Đ villat de Bodeyhan t Joh Maphython que extendunt ad. Liiij s.j. d. ob quas Eps Bangor tenet p carta. Re. L. s imppm.

Đ Maĥio de Cornuthles cũ Hamelett de Tursemon t Westdrewy t T'llonmayloke que Abbas t cōuent de Conewey tenent p cartam Re .xxj. lĩ .viij. š .v. đ . imppetm.

Smª tot .xxiij lî xviij š v d.

Đ villa de Nantmaur q^am Tuder Vach^an tenet p cartam Re ad tminū vite ip̃i⁵ Tuderi t Resi filii sui .vj. lĩ .xij š v đ.—ad tĩm vite . Et me^đ q̃d ista sūma px pcedēs alloc vic in decasu :' ut p3 in dorso rot cpot vic.

Sma xxiij. lĩ .xviij. š .v. đ. Qui debnt šbtahi de Sma tobextete qoad vic.

Et eciam .xxiiij. lĩ .x s de ptit t pquis que continent in eadm extenta in diù sis cōmot (p eo qd idm vic respond inde sim l cũ incremto in ptit t pquis toci Com p diù sas pticulas exta extentam.*

* Et sic d; vic oĥar de cōtent (in ext de clar de . CCCC . xxx . v. lĩ .ij. $\mathfrak s$.vj. d̄ qª . pt . Eo q̄d Smª subseq̃ns de ptis t̄ pquis subt³hitur sicut t̄re collat̃ ut sup³. l

¹ Not in the copy.

APP. A a.

[On the dorse of the Roll.]

A.D. 1294. Escaete In Cantred de Abfrau temp dni Edwardi P¹ncip Walł.

Escaeta.

Wilts ap Daniel qui tenuit .xxx. acras fre cū ptinenc in Abfrau ad fminū vite sue de đno Leweliū qondā Pinc Walt obiit fīo scīi Mich anno Pinc Pinc . Et . ijo . Per cui mortē Henr de Dynintoū tūc vic seisiuit frā pdcam in manū đni Pinc tanqā escaetā . t pdca escaeta valet p annū p extentā fcam p ipm vic . xl đ. Unde vic eiusdm Com debet respondere annuatī sup comp suū ad Scacm ap Caerū.

Smª .xl. đ.

Escaeta.

Dauid ap Llewelin qui tenuit villam de Thlallybion cũ ptiñ in Cantr de Aberfrau ad voluntatē đni Reg p libaccem đni . I . de Hauinggę post guerram Maddoci ap Lewelyn obiit mense Augusti Anno Pincipat⁹ . Eệ . Pinc scdo . Post cui⁹ mortē Wenthliana ux eiusdm Đd t Lewelin⁹ filius eoz iniuste occupauerūt pdcam villā usq. mensem Septembr anno Pincipat⁹ Eệ Pinc iij quo mense pdcus Lewelin⁹ obiit tempe Walti de Wyntoñ vic Angles que debuit fuisse escaeta đni Pinc post mortē dci Đd. Et hoc pcepto t Henr de Dynigtoñ vic qui recepit pdcam villam in manū Pinc tanqam escaetā suam. Et valet pdca villa p annū in õib3 exitib3 .vij. lī .xj. s .iiij. d. Unde vic eiusd Com debet responde annuatī sup comp suū ad Scacm apa Caerñ.

Smª .vij. lĩ .xj. š .iiij. đ.

Escaeta.

Lewelin⁹ Voyl ap Griff ap Gogan qui tenuit villā de Kenleuyok cū Hamelettis de [Keyru] t Kilgwyn ad tīm vite sue de dono đni Ec. illustis Reg Angt filio per Cartā ipius Reg. obiit. iiij die Apit anno Pinc Pinc. Ec. vo. p cui mortē Henr de Dyninton tūc vic seisiuit pdcam villā cū Hamelettis in manū đni Pinc tanqā escaetā. Et pdca villa cū Hamelettis valet p annū p extentā fcam per ipm vic xij. lī xviij. š.xj. đ.

¹ Supplied from the copy.

Smª xij. lĩ .xviij. š .xj. đ.1

APP. Aa.

A.D. 1294. Escaeta.

Đ tra Ioş Duy ap Dauid in villa de Trebaddok¢ qui intecit Dauid prem suu Mense Maii aº Pincip đni E . Pinc quarto que extendit p vic ad tres solid. Unde vic debet responder annuatī sr cp.

Smª . iij š.

D Candalo ap Thom t Ken ap Thomas de quodam annuo redditu aduocarie concelato t recupato coram W. de de Sutton Iustic in anno P^i ncipat thin E ℓ P^i nc iiij to . unde vic . deb onari t c . di q^a rt frmi . pc ij. s .vj. d.

Smª .ij. § .vj. đ.

Đ Madđ Vaghan . de Rosmanak
ệ p quođ añuo redđ concelato \Im recupato coram pfato Iustič in anno i
iiij pđểo unde viể deb oblari \Im č—xvj. đ . ob.

Smª xvj. a. ob.

D xiiij bouatis îre arrabit una domo . uno pato . una pte trbarie dco ten spectante que fuert . Madă ap Idewal in Pentrayth et que st in manu Pinc p excaetam . et que extendunt p H . de Dynynton vic ad xvj. s .iiij. d in anno î c qinto . de quib; debet sbtrai .v. s . pro redă annuo eiusăm ten content in extenta Com . et deb vic onari in compoto suo de xj. s .iiij. d . de residuo dce extente una cū appwamēto.

Smª-xj. š .iiij. đ.

Sma tot-xxj. lī .xj. s .ix. d . ob.

 2 Hee sunt pcuracones 2 suicia him Manerii de Penros in Comoto de T^r ket ubi inuenti funt .xij. Gauelli cu dimid 2 pe q° villa extentata fuit.

Et de dca tra . gauellus soluebat . xx^{ti} . qⁱnq, hoïes p unu diem ad secand blada p sex septimanas tpe autupnali.

Et de qina aliis acris .v4 . hoïes p unu die ut supa.

It de omib; ilt Gauellis soluebant qinqaginta eqos cū tot garcõib; ad cariand blada eodm tpe p unu diem.

¹ The copy ends here.

² On a parchment schedule sewed on to the end of the Roll.

APP. A a.
A.D.
1294.

It .lx. eq°s p unū diem ad herciand tras P¹ncip cū tot garcõib; tpe vnali.

It .x. eq°s sine garcõib; ad fimand tras cica Pascha.

It .xx. eq°s ad herciand frumta ordea fabas et pisa ac siligines sine garcoib 17 hoc p unu diem.

It p peracce unis eqi i hyeme t vere una cnoca Lewelini qalib; septimana cum straminib; t victualibus p Garcone.

It in autūpno victualia p Garcone sine eqo . ī estate nich.

It pcracoes .xx. eq°z et tot equ°z p unu die t nocte tpe hyemali . Et . xx^{ti} . meliorib; eq¹s de illis p sex ī die unam cnocā Lewelini t öib; . viij . de illis aliis palefredis unam cnocā.

It in vere p octuagita eqis pcuracones ut supra p aliis.

It in estate p.lx. valetis pc^rac ões sine eqis t totide in autūpno.

It p igne ad op⁹ dni Pⁱncip de glebario suo soluebant p tres vices ī aduētu ipi⁹ videlic; autūpno Hyeme t ve p un^aq vice cētū t^assas de glebis t tūc isti hoïes habebant unū glebariū libe t iādud ex^actū est ab eis iltd.

Iτ̃ p q°lib3 Gauello q°lib3 τ̃pe anni duas tassas staminum ad opus betto≱.

It de unoqº gauello .xiiij. d p annū.

It de õib3 gauellis .xv. galones butiri p annü.

It extra gauellos st .vj. acre t p qalib; illaz solunt p annu .xij. đ.

It de õib; gauellis .xxviij. galīas.

Itī eadm villa st .vj. gauelli de qib3 dñs habet reddit⁹ p^eunarios cũ frumto . videlic3 de Gauello Bledyn Grachais.

It de Gauello Ade ap Madauc .vij. sot .viij. d.

It de dimid gauelli Madoci Capellani .xl. d.

It de gauello Philip Sayr .vij. solid.

It de tra Gemllin Portarii .ij. 3 .vj. đ.

It de gauello faboz .vj. cnocas frumti de canoca Lewelini.

Iĩ de Gauello Philippi Capellani .iij. c'noc cũ dimiđa de App. Aa. eađ m̃sura.

It de eod .xx^{ti}. d .vj. galones butiri . duos . agnos .lx. oua 1294. thoc p ānū.

It de dimid gauelli Adam ap Byndelw .v. § .iij. d.

It coitas toti⁹ ville soluet p annū . xxx cnocas de cnocis Lewelini ad plus . videlicet teia ptē frumti t aliam teia farine auenat t teia ptē farin ordeacee t aliqando dūs facet eis gaciam qd no peret ab ipis nisi .xx. canoc.

It p maronia lactis pdce ville ī estate t autūpno dimid totis lactis dicioris hõis de villa t iltd aliqando eet fruct .iiij. vaccaz t aliqando duaz ille vacce ī festo oim scoz rediret ad suu possessore.

APPENDIX Ab.

SHERIFF'S ACCOUNT OF ABERFFRAW AND PENROS, 30 EDW. I., A.D. 1302.

Chapter House Miscellanea 66, Public Record Office.

APP. Ab.	Compot ⁹ Walteri de Wyntoñ Viĉ Angles a festo sancti
A.D. 1302.	Michis anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo nono usq festum sci Michis anno regni Regis predci t ⁱ cesimo.
	• • • • • •
Aber-	šs Maneriū de Aberfrau.
frau.	Idem respondet de fira dnicoz eiusdm Maner
	Corsodelen Tefcastel p ann vij. lî .x. s
Dnice.	D redd ass libe tenc eiusdem Maner p idem temp ⁹
	Ð redð ass villanoz M')dredi eiusdem Maner
	. p idem temp ⁹
Molend.	Đ fira .iij. Molendīoz ibidem p idem temp ⁹ viij. lĩ.
Portař.	Đ fira Portar eiusdem Maner p idem temp ⁹ xiij, š .iiij. đ
	Sma totad dči Maneř .xxxvij. li .xix. s ij. d . õ . qa.
	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Tur-	ss Maner de Penros.
kelyn.	Idem respondet de redå villanoz M') dredi de
	Penros . per ann
	Đ fir ^a .iiij. Carucat terr đnicoz eiusdem
	Maner p idem temp ⁹ C. g.
	Đ fir ^a .iij. Molendīoz eiusdem Maner p idem
	temp ⁹ x. lĩ.
	Đ fir ^a Portar eiusdem Maner, per idem
	temp ⁹ xiij. š .iiij. đ.
	Sma totał istius Maner .xxxj. li .xv. s .iij. d.

¹ Now Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1227, No. 3.

APPENDIX Ac.

PETITION OF THE VILLANI OF PENROS AND INQUISITIONS AS TO THEIR CUSTOMS AND SERVICES, 16 EDW. II., A.D. 1322.

Inquisition Ad Quod Damnum, 16 Edw. II., No. 40, Public Record Office.

A nre seign' le Roi t a son counseil monstrent ses poures App. Ac. vileins de son Maner de Penros en le Countee Dangleseye en Northgales q come eaux par errou del estente du dit Maner soient nounduement chargez p an de .xxj. lī .vj. đ. ultre leur due rente à acostumee auxi come de rente assese des queux dens ungs le dit seign' ne nul seign' de celes pties auaunt le conqueste ne peus nestoit ne ne deuoit p resoun estre suy, ? mesmes ceaux vileins a leur peticioun nadguers s' ceo baille en plement p auisement nre dit seign' t son counseil eussent briefe de la Chauncelerie a mons Esmon Counte Darundel Iustice de Gales a enquerre de cel errour : 7 li 7 son dit counseil s' ceo ctifier p ses tres: t puis aps pise s' ceo p la dite Iustice diligente enqueste en forme de lei 7 retrne duement en la dite Chauncelerie p la quele piert pleinement gil sunt de les ditz dens p an chargez countre resoun : eaux p enchesoun de la morryne le leur bestes 7 de leur aler nadguers peus la prise de cele enqueste en le suiz nre dit Seign'r countre ses enemy's 't rebeaux en diuers liens ount taunt este empoueriz qil ne ount mye este de poair de trouer les coustages a seure se ceo remedie, dount le Chaumbrelein de Caernaruan I le Viscounte Dangleseve leur fount preaux den's destreindre greuosement pr tut leurs temps, issint q si ñre dit seign' 't son counseil ne voillent a ceste foiz s' ceo

A.D. 1322

APP. A c.

1322.

ordener remedie: il leur couient lesser leurs îtres ît tenementz! ît aler mendinauntz pr toutz iours saunz releuer. P quoi il prient au dit seignr ît a son conseil pr Dieu q eaux quise la dite enqueste ît examinee: voillent ordener qil soient deschargez de ceaux de îls p an pr le temps passe ît a venir i ou qil leur plaise comaunder brief de la Chauncelerie a la dite Iustice ou a son lieu tenaunt en Northgales a estendre le dit Maner oue les apprtenaunces de nouel: issint qil peussent sr ceo estre mis a leur ctein des ore en auaunt: ît q eaux ne soient mais en tiele ma île greuez ne tauillez: ît q leur destresces soient pr le pfit du dit seignr relessez: q leur gaignerie ît leur viure ne soient areriz ou desaitz: p defaute de succour.

[Endorsed.]

Il semble a Counseil sil plest a Roi q bon sreit q le Maner sut de nouel estendu p bones \(\frac{1}{2} \) suffisauntz gentz, issint \(\tilde{q} \) nre seign le Roi pusse sauer la \(\tilde{v} \) ite del extente \(\tilde{\tau} \) comaunder outre sa volunte.

Corā Rege.

Veniat Inquis cū peticõe coram Rege.

Edwardus Dei gra Rex Angt Dñs Hibñ t Dux Aquit dilco t fideli suo Edo Comiti Arundelt Iustic suo Walt vel eius locu tenenti in ptib; Northwalt saltm. Ex parte villanoz ñroz de Maĥio ñro de Penros in Com Augles nob est ostensum que cu antecessores sui villani de eodem Maĥio temporib; Principis Walt p tris t teñ que ipi villani nunc tenent eisdem Principib; viginti t unam libras t sex denar p omimodis consuetudinib; t suiciis m soluere consueuissent ac post conquestu tre Walt consuetudines t suicia pdca ad quadraginta t duas libr t duodecim denarios p Ministros dni E quonda Regis Angt patris [ñri] erronice extensa fuissent ac etiam supomata. t licet ad psecucõem villanoz pdcoz idem pater ñr nup Iustic suo tre pdce p bre suu mandasset qd de errore tito

in faciendo extentam pdcam inquisiuisset plenio veritatem ipma prem nrm inde ctificasset ut idem pater nr dcis villanis iusticiam fieri fecisset in hac pte : pdcus tamen Iustic pmissa face non curauit, p quod dci villani de viginti t una libr t sex denar ulta rectam i antiqua extentam annuatim a tempore extente pdce sic erronice fce ad scacm nrm de Kaernaruan indebite onerant^r, t p eisdem viginti t una libr t sex denar not ad idem scacm reddend gauil distringunt 7 ea occone inquietant^r min⁹ iuste in ipoz villanoz dispendiu non modicu t iacturam . Nolentes qd ipi villani indebite pgrauent in hac parte. Vot mandams qd p inquisicoem p vos si necesse fuit inde faciend t aliis viis t modis quib; potitis vos plenio informetis quantu videlicet antecessores villanoz pacoz p consuetudinib; & suiciis suis ante conquestu pdcm dederint & quo tempore extenta pdca fca fuit t p quos t qualit t quo modo, t utru erronice fca fuit ut pdcm est : p quod ipi villani de pdcis viginti t una libr t sex denar exonari debeant necne . Et cū sup pmissis eritis plenio informati nos de informaçõe illa sub sigillo vro distincte t apte sine ditone reddatis ctiores hoc bre not remittentes ut ultius pfatis villanis sup pmissis fieri faciam9 quod de consilio ñro fore viderim⁵ faciend . T me ipo apud Eboz . xviij die Maii anno

APP. Ac.

A.D. 1322.

> A.D. 1322.

P peticõem de consilio.

r. ñ quintodecimo.

Inquisicio facta coram Thoma de Wynnesbury tenente locă dni Edmundi Comitis Arundelt Iusticiar Walt in North Walt apud Penros die Iouis px post fm sci Iacobi Apli anno regni Reg. E. filii Regis. E. sextodecimo, qantum vidett antecessores villanoz dni Reg de Manerio suo de Penros in Com Angleseye dederut p consuetudinib; t seruiciis suis ante conquestă tre Walt, t quo tempe facta fuit extenta eiusdem Manerii in qua consuetudines t seruicia eozdem villanoz post dcm conquestă ad quadraginta t duas libras t duo-

A.D. 1322.

APP. Ac.

A.D.

1322.

decim denarios sterlingoz extendebantr, t p quos qualit t quo modo, t utrum eadem extenta erronice facta fuerit p quod ipi villani de viginti t una libr t sex denariis . vidett de medietate quadraginta t duaz libaz t duodecim denarioz in bri content exorbari debeant nec ne : p hos iur . Howel Whyth, Tud ap Lewel, Howel Lippa, Lewel ap Howel, Eignon ap Ioz, Madoc ap Eignon, Edeneuet ap Eignon, Ioz Widel, M'duth Duy, Eignon Vaghan, Ioz ap Philip & Madoc Vaghan. Qui dicūt sup sacrm suū qd antecessores dcoz villanoz dni Reg de Manerio suo de Penros tempib; Principū Walt ante conquestum eiusdem fre soluerūt eisdem Principib3 annatim de redditu assio p sex gauelt I di tre ibidem : qatuor libras, nouem solidos I qatuor denarios preter suicia t consuetudines eozdem que ipi fecerūt p residuo fraz suaz ibidem t qatuor carucatis fre đnice predči Manerii eisdem villanis dudū liberat. Et dicūt qd predicta seruicia t consuetudines post predem conquestu extendebantr ad decem t octo libras, qinq solidos, duos denarios, obolū I qadrantem, I qd Magister Ricus de Abyngdon clericus đni Reg fecit extentam predčoz seruicioz t consuetudinu p duodecī hoïes iur de Com Angleseye, que quidem extenta ita gauis t suponerosa facta fuit qd nuqam aliquis denarios sume in eadem extenta contente leuare potuit hucusq nec sumam illam attingle, p viginti solidos t sex denarios annuatim . Et qd post extenta illam sic fcam : frater Lewelinus tunc Prior frum Predicatoz Bangor qui associatus fuit predco Magro Rico p dcm dnm Regem ad extentam predčam faciendam q ipe Magister Ricus eundem frem Lewelinū ad extentam illam faciend non expectauit : accessit ad Maneriū de Penros I fecit unam nouam extentam I illam tunc irrotulari fecit simul cū pima extenta in rotulo extente toti⁹ Com Angles . Ita qd p errorem extente p prefatū Lewelinū t gauitatem t suponeracõem extente p predčm

Magrm Ricm fact : supadci villani indebite onerati sunt de App. Ac. viginti t una libra t sex denariis sterlingoz annuatim.

A.D. 1322.

In cuius rei testimoniū predči Howel, Tuđ, Howel, Lewet, Eignon, Madoc, Edeneuet, Ioz, M'eduth, Eignon, Ioz t Madoc sigilla sua Psentib; apposuerut, loco die ? anno supradictis.

Cancellar dni Regis Angl p Iustic Walt.

En-

Scribat^r Camar de Kaernar qd pat . Pdict demandam qua fac dorsed.] villani Regis de Penros de xxj. lī .vj. d ulta antiquā extentā oz usq in crastino Purificaçõis te Marie . Et intim scrutat extentas de qib3 inquisicio facit mencõem inde ctificet Thes & Baron de Scacio ad die pdcm.

APPENDIX Ad.

COURT ROLL OF ABERFFRAW, 20 EDW. III., A.D. 1346.

APP. Ad.

Court Rolls, Bundle 215, No. 13, Public Record Office.

[20 Edw. III. A.D. 1346.]

Magnus Turnus Cōmoti de Maltaith tent apd Crucanel die Vehlis px post fm Decolacõis sci Iohis Bapte . anno . \tilde{rr} . \tilde{E} . xx° .

Abfrau.

nich Atha Loit q. ve . loco qinq iur.

Villata q, nō . ve . ad iur̃ . Et postea ve . ad p̃s̃ q̃d Rees ap Madyn Esspyn qui attach fuit q, fregit pacem in Nunđ t taxit sang̃ de Laurence fregit pisonā t euasit a custođ portar̃ t fugit.

 $\overset{+}{\mathrm{Rag}}$ $\overset{+}{\mathrm{T}}$ Portar q , nō huer attach . Iố in ma.

+ vị đ + vị. đ vị. đ Toặ. Eigũ filii Meur^c ap Tock (Teu^an ap Tẽg. Ieu^an ap Tẽg ap Itħ vocati nō ve. ad t^rnū.

iiij. š Villata p .iiij. concet in mª.

[12 Sept. A.D. 1346.]

Magn⁹ t^rn⁹ Cōmoti de Turkelyn tenĩ apd Lanuol die Martis px ante fm Naĩ be Mar anno rx . xx°.

Penros.

De villata q, ptrbat Cur.

P's qd Dd ap Ith taxit sang de Lowargh Duy.

Court Roll of Aberffraw, 1346.

car in carcere
Et qd Eign Gogh Soyke felon fur fuit unu rete pcii iiij. d

APP. Ad.

de Ieuan ap Deyke.

A.D.
1346.

Coptu est qd villata fr defen eo qd no sot pparte peii equoz cariag execits.

ij. š Villata p concet.

Coptu est qd Atha Ioz t Đd filii Eign Gogh Crethe debent esse aduoc Princ et . r . se t sedent sup tram Epi apd Thlanderadok c.

APPENDIX A e.

EXTENT OF ABERFFRAW WITH ITS HAMLETS, 13 EDW. III., A.D. 1339.

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem, 13 Edward III. (2nd nrs.) No. 58, Public Record Office.

APP. A e.
A.D.
1339.

Edwardus Dei gra Rex Angt Dns Hibn t Dux Aquit Iustič suo Northwalt vel eius locū tenenti ibidem . salīm . Quia quibusdam ĉtis de causis ĉtiorari volumus sup vero valore Manlii de Aberfrawe cum ptin in Northwalt . exceptis una carucata fre t dimit in eodem Manlio que dilcus not Magr Rogdus de Heyton Surigicus nr tenet ad îminu vite sue ex concessione ñra . quantum vidett valeat p annū una cū dnicis . homagiis . Suiciis . redditib3 . ac aliis exitib3 tre iuxta verum valorem eiusdem. Vob mandamus gd p sacrm pboz et leg hoïm de balliua vra p quos rei vitas melius sciri polit manlium pdcm. exceptis dcis carucata fre t dimid. in forma pdca diligent extendi fac et extentam illam distincte I apte fcam not in Cancellar nram sub sigillo vro I sigillis eoz p quos fca fulit sine dilone mittatis t hoc bre. T. Edwardo Duce Cornut t Comite Cestr fit nro carissimo. Custode Angt apud Kenyngton .xx. die Febr . anno . r . n . fciodecimo.

P bre de priuat sigilt.

[En-dorsed.]

Execuço istius br̃[is] patet in extenta huic br̃i cōsuta.

Extenta Manerii de Aberfrau in Northwalt, facta apud Caerñ die Sabtti px post festum scii Gregorii anno . r̄ . Rơ . Ē . Pcii post conquestum Pciodecimo coram Wiltmo de Shaldeforde locum tenente đni Ricii Comitis Arundell Iustic đni

Extent of Aberffraw, 1339.

A.D. 1339.

Regis in Northwalt . virtute cuiusdam bris eisdem 1 Iustic vl App. Ae. eius locu tenenti de Cancellar Angi directi : p sacrm Kenewric ap Griffuth . Ienaf ap Yereward . Griffuth ap Dauid Vaghan . Howeli ap Leweli, Griffuth ap Dauid Gethyn. Ieuan ap Howel. Eignon Terrioc. Edeneuet Gogh. Howel ap Dauid ap Roppert. Ieuan ap Phelip. Blethyn ap Madoc. 7 Kenewric ap Eignon de Com Angles-Qui dicunt sup sacrm suu qd sunt in Manerio de Aberfrau sunt qinq, carucate terre . De quib3 Magist Roglus de Heytone tenet unam carucatam tre ? dimid . et s fre f di . que valent p annu .Cv. 3 . vidett quett carucata .xxx. 3-Item dic qd sunt ibidem . iij . Molend que valent p annū .ix. lī-Item p annū .xiij. š .iiij. đ . It .j. piscaria que valet .ij. š.—Item de redditu libere tenentiū ibidem xxix. 3 .viij. d-It de redditu tenentiu de Bodeueur ptin eidem Manerio .xv. s .xj. d. -Item de redditu libe tenentiù de Hameletto de Trewaspatike .x. s.—Item de villanis eiusdem ville de Tunke v. s .vj. d-Item de eisdem villanis p farina, butiro, lacte 7 opaconib; xiij. 8 .vij. d . ob-Item de Hameletto de Trefberwyth huic Manerio annexo de redditu assiso ij villanoz .ix. & .viij. d. Item de . iiijor cronocis farine ordei .v. š .iiij. d.—It de mltonib; .iiij. s .vj. d.—Item de .ix. agnis xviij. d—It de

eisdem villanis p butiro .ij. š .iiij. đ.—Item de Ciiij. ouis .vij. d.—It de .ix. gallinis .ix. d.—It de dcis .ix. homib; p opaconib; de .Clxj. diei .xxxvj. š .ij. đ . ob.

Smª .xxj. lī .xv. š .xj. d.

Hamelettum de Dynthlodan eidem Manerio de Aberfrau annexū. Đ redditu assiso .j. villani ibidem .ij. š. Vidett de Dauid de Hibnico p medietate blad I lact quod M'laonnyth—Item de filiis Gregorii ap Lewelyn p.j. cronoko fri t. iiijor cronocis farine aueñ : viij. š.vj. d. De eisdem p.iij. multonib3 .xij. d. De eisdem . . . De eisdem p Butiro .vj. d .-

¹ So in the Record.

Extent of Aberffraw, 1339.

App. Ac. De eisdem p. xl. ouis .j. d. ob—De eisdem p. vj. gallinis .vj. d.

De eisdem p opačonib; .xxx. dierū .iij. š .ix. d . De Pelipař
p dĩ . . . cronoci farine ordei . medietate .j. mltonis . mediet .j.
agni . p .x Cunnis butir t p medietat .j. galline .xiij. d . ob.
De opačonib; eoşdem vij diež .xj. d q².

Smª-xviij. š .ix. đ qª.

Hamelett de Keuyntreffrau eidem Manerio annexū. De redditu villanoz eiusdem ville .iij. š .iiij. đ . De eisdem p .j. agno t dī . p butir . De gallinis t dī . p Estor blađ . de opačonib; .iij. diez xviij. đ . ob . Et respondent de M')ionyth cum villanis de Tref berwyth.

Sma—iiij. § .x. d . ob.

Et de .iiij. homib; quos villani forinceci de Cantredo [invenient.]
De homib; t equis ad herciant p .j. diem .Lxxv. s . cap p diem .j. d . ot.—Item de dcis villanis de Aberfrau p .x. cronocis De pastra .xx. s . De pquisit Cur .xl. s.

Smª .xvj. lĩ .xviij. đ.

Sma tot .xxxix. ti .xij. d . ob . qa.

In cui⁹ rei testimoniū pdči Iur̃ huic [ext]en[te] sigilla sua apposuerunt.

Dat apud Caern die 7 anno supadcis.

APPENDIX Af.

ASSESSMENT TO A FIFTEENTH OF ABERFFRAW WITH ITS HAMLETS [A.D. 1320-1340].

Treasury of Receipt, Miscell. 68, Public Record Office.1

Rotul⁹ taxaconis oium bonoz mobiliū t̃praliū cmoti App. A f.
Maltraeth ad . xv^{am} . ptē p taxator̃ videl; . p Tuderū Gam t

[A.D.
13201340.]

Ie rotul9 exr cū nouo t noïa cōcordant.

Villa Abfrau cū suis Hamlete.

Ioʻ Voel ht in bōis taxat(vid; —xx. boŭ. p² c²l; v. š—xvj. vač. p². c²l; iij. š.iiij d².—v. eq°s p². c²l; .v. š.—iiij. aŭia .iij. ānoʻ .p². c²l; ij. š.vj. d². iiij aŭia .ij. āno' .p². c²l; ij. š.vi. d². xx. oues. p². ij. vač. š.vj. š.viij. d²—xx. Cr̃. fru. p². c²l; ij. š.vj. d². xl. Cr̃. far̃. aue. p² c²l; .ij. š.—vj. Cr̃. pis tord. p² cui² b; —xvj. d.

Dđ ap Ýkeneýn ht in bo . tax .iij. bou . \hat{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.v. \tilde{s} .ix. vač . \hat{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{5}$ iij. \tilde{s} .iij. \tilde{d} —vj. eq°s . \hat{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.v. \tilde{s} .—ij. auia .iij. ānoş . \hat{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.iij. \tilde{s} .v. \tilde{g} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.iij. \tilde{s} .v. \tilde{g} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.iij. \tilde{s} .—xxiij oues . \tilde{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.vj. \tilde{d} —iij. $\tilde{C}\tilde{r}$. fru . \tilde{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$ ij. \tilde{s} .vj. \tilde{d} —iiij. $\tilde{C}\tilde{r}$. ord . \tilde{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$ xvj. \tilde{d} .—xiiij. $\tilde{C}\tilde{r}$. fa \tilde{r} aue . \tilde{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.ij. \tilde{s} .

Mađ ap Dđ ħt in bo , tax .iij. vac , p , c⁹l; .iij. z .iiij. đ .
—j. aŭiŭ .iij. ānoz , p ij. z .vj. đ—j. aŭiŭ .ij. ānoz , p .ij. zj. Cr , far , p .ij. z .

Eỳnō ap $\tilde{G}\tilde{g}$ ħt in bo . tax .iij. boũ \tilde{p} . $c^{5}l_{5}$.v. \tilde{s} .—j. eqū . \tilde{p} .v. \tilde{s} —iiij. vac . \tilde{p} . $c^{5}l_{5}$.iij. \tilde{s} .iiij. \tilde{d} .—j. $C\tilde{r}$. fru . \tilde{p} .ij. \tilde{s} .vj. \tilde{d} .—ij. $C\tilde{r}$. far . aue . \tilde{p} $c^{5}l_{3}$.ij. \tilde{s} .

¹ Now Lay Subsidy 2482.

Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw, 1320-40.

APP. Af. Ioz Goch ht in bo . tax .iij. bou . p c l3 .v. s .—iij eq s p c l3 .v. s .—iij eq s p c l3 .v. s .—iij. vac p c l3 .iij. s .iiij. d .—xij. oues . p . c l3 vj. d .—ij. Cr . fru . p . c l3 .ij. s .vj. d .—vj. Cr . far . aue .

Sa .iiij. š p . col3 .ij. š .—ij. adia .ij. ānoz p col3 .ij. š.

.v. đ. ob. Ux Gg ap Kyff ht in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s.—j. ium̃tū . p .v. s .—j. auiū .iij. ānoz . p .ij. s . vj. đ .—j. auiū .ij. ānoz . p .ij. š .—ij. vac . p . c l; .iij. s .iiij. đ .—j. Cr Sa—ij. s .

fru . p. ij. š .vj. đ . — iij. Cr . far . aue . p . c⁹l3 . ij. š.

Dở Voel từ ĩ bo . tax .ij. boũ p . c°l3 .v. ĩ—j. eqũ . p Sa .ij. ĩ. .v. ĩ .—ij. vač . p c°l3 .iij. ĩ .iiij. ở . Di^m . Cř . fru . p .xv. ở .—iij. Cř . fař . aue . p . c°l3 .ij. ĩ.

Mad ap Ygwascric ht in bo . tax .ij. eqos . p . col3 .v. s .

Sa.xvj.đ. —j. boũ . \hat{p} .v. \tilde{s} .—Dim . Cr . fru . \hat{p} .xv. \tilde{d} —ij. Cr far . aue . \hat{p} . c913 .ij. \tilde{s} .

Eýnō ap Iokę ħt in boñ tax . vid3 .xvj. boŭ . $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$ c°l3 .v. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$.xxij. .viij. $\stackrel{\circ}{d}$.—vj. eq°s $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$. c°l3 .v. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$.—xv. vac $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$. c°l3 .iij. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$.iiij. $\stackrel{\circ}{d}$.—xij. adia .iij. ānoş . $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$, c°l3 .ij. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$.vj. $\stackrel{\circ}{d}$.—xv. oues $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$ c°l3 . $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$.v. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$.—xij. Cr fru . $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$. c°l3 .ij. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$.vj. $\stackrel{\circ}{d}$.—xl. Cr . far . aue . $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$ c°l3 .ij. $\stackrel{\circ}{s}$ —xij. Cr . pis . $\stackrel{\circ}{t}$ ord . $\stackrel{\circ}{p}$. c°l3 .xvj. $\stackrel{\circ}{d}$.

Ymetyř ht in bo . tax .iij. bou . p c°l3—v. s .—j. iumtu . p .v. s—.iiij. vac . p . c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d—.j. adiu .ij. ānoz . p .ij. s—v. oues p—xx. d—j. Cr . fru . p .ij. s .vj. d .—iij. Cr

far p col3 .ij. s.

Sa iii. š.

ob.

Gwenlt f Ađ tht in bo . tax .j. boù . p .v. s—j. iumtū p Sa .xviij. .v. s .—ij. vac p c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. đ .—ij. aùia .ij. ānoz . p . đ. c°l3—ij. s—.j. Cr . far . p .ij. s.

Dđ ap Iok (fit in bo . tax .ij. boũ . p . c°l3 .v. š—iij. eq°s Sa .iiij. š. p c°l3 .v. š .—v. vac . p c°l3 iij. š .iiij. đ .—ij. Cr . fru . p c°l3 .ij. š .vj. đ ..vj. Cr far aue . p c°l3 .ij. š .—.j. Cr orđ . p .xvj. đ.

Mađ ap Iokę ht in bo . tax .j. bou . p' .v. z—.j. iumtū p' .v. z Sa .xxij. iij vac p' c°l; iij. z .iiij. đ . Di^m Cr . fru . p' .xv. d—iij. Cr đ. far aue . p' c°l; ij. z .

Ph Amluch ht in bo . tax .j bou . p .v. s -. j. iumtu p .v. s

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-iiij. vac . p . c l; iij. š .iiij. đ-iij. auia .ij. anoz . p . c l; App. Af. .ij. š-ix. oues. p. c5l3 .vj. d-j. Cr. fru. p. ij. š .vj. d- Sa .ij. š iij. Cr. far . aue . p col3 .ij. s. .x. đ.

Da ap Med ht in bo . tax .j. equ .p .v. s-ij. bou .p . col; .v. s—iiij. vac p . col; .iij. s. iiij. d—ij. Cr . fru . p col; .ij. š .vj. đ — .vj. Cr . far aue . p . c l3 .ij. š — .vj. oues p . c l3 .iij. đ. .vj. d.

Sussanaf ht in bois tax .v. vac . p . col3 .iij. 3 .iiij. d. Sa xiij. đ. ob.

Dđ ap Gwasbeuno ht in bo . tax .vj. bou . p col3 .v. s. ij. eq°s . p . c°l3 .v. s.—v. vac . p . c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d—ij. aulia Sa viij. š. ot. .iij. ānoz. p c⁵lz. ij š. vj. đ.—j. adiū. ij. ānoz. p .ij. š.—xiiij. oues. p. c⁵l; .vj. đ.—vj. Cr. fru . p. c⁹l; .ij. s. .vj. đ—xvj. Cr far aue . p . c5l3 .ij. s.—vj. Cr far ord p c9l3 .xvj. d.

Mathu ap Dđ ht in bo . tax .ij. bou . p csl3 .v. s.—j. ium̃tū. p.v. s—ij. vac. p col3 .iij. s .iiij. đ.—dim. Cr. fru. Sa .xxj. đ. ob. p.xv. d-ij. Cr. far. aue. p. col3.ij. s.

Robyn ht in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s-j. equ . p .v. s.-j. vač. p. iij. š.iiij. d/—ij. adia .ij. ānož. p. c9lz. ij. š/—j. Cr. Sa.xix đ. qađ. fru . p. ij. š .vj. d/-ij. Cr far . aue . p. cl3 .ij. š.

Eynő ap Dđ ht in bo . tax .iiij. bou . p. colz .v. s-ij. equs. p. col3 .v. š—iiij. vač . p. j. adiū .iij. ānoz . p. ij. š .vj. đ.— Sa .v. s .xj. đ. ij. aulia .ij. anoz . p .ij. s.—vij. oues . p colz .vj. d.—iij. Cr . fru . p c l; .ij. s .vj. d-xij. Cr . far . aue . p . c l; -ij. s-.iij. Cr . orđ p . col3 .xvj. đ.

Eỳnỗ ap Ydryn ht in bo. tax .iiij. vac . p col; .iij. š .iiij. đ/ j. awliu .iij. anoz pl. ij. s. vj. d .ij. awla .ij. anoz .ij. s .j. Cr . Sa .xxj. fru . p . ij. s . vj. đ ij. Cr . far . aue . p . c l3 . ij. s.

Ioz ap Ph htī. bo. tax .j. equ. p .v. s/.ij. vac. p. col; .iij. š.iiij. đ ij. auia .ij. ānoz . p c°l; .ij. š. j. Cr. fru . p Sa .xvij. .ij. š—j. Cr far aue. c. dio. p. iij. š.

Ph ap Ad ht î bo . tax .j. equ . p .v. s .iiij. vac . p col; .iij. š.iiij. đ., j. bou. p.v. š., xij. oues p.c°l3. vj. đ. .j. Cr. Sa.ij. š .iiij. đ. õ. frū. p. ij. š. vj. đ. ij. Cr. far. aue. pc 213. ij. š.

Gwtanes ht in bo . tax .iiij. vac . p .col; .iij. s .iiij. d. / ij. Saxxiij.d.

T 2

ium̃ta. p. c°l3. v. š. j. auiū. ij. ānoz. p. ij. š.—j. Cr far. č APP. Af. dio . p .iij. s.

A.D.

1320-Ykedýn řít in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s .j. iumtu . p .v. s/ 1340.7 iiij. vac . p .iij. s .iiij. đ. xiiij. oues p c l3 .vj. đ .j. Cr fru p Sa .ij. š .ij. š .vj. đ / j. Cr . far . p .ij. š. .iiij. đ.

Kediuor̃ htī bo. tax.j. boū. p.v. s. / iij. eq°s. p.v. s. ij. vač . p . c°l3 .iij. š .iiij. đ . ij aliiū .ij. ānoz . p . c°l3 . ij. š. Sa .iij. š .vij. d. —xiij. oues p c°l3 .vj. đ. / dim. Cr̃ fru . p .xv. đ. / .iiij. Cr̃ far̃ aue . p. .ij. š.

Yfromarth ht ī bo . tax .ij. iumta . p . col3 .v. s. / iij. vac p . c°l3 .iij. š .iiij. đ / ij. adia .ij. anoz .p . c°l3 .ij. š./ Sa .ij. š .v. đ. õ. ij. aulia .iij. ānoz . p col; .ij. š .vj. đ. j Cř . fru . č dio . p .iij. š .ix. đ. / j. Cr . c dio far . p .iij. š. / ij. oues . p .xij. đ.

Iena ap Mad Vichan ht ī. bo. tax .j. iumtū. p.v. š j.

boũ p.v. s. / iiij. adia .ij. ānoz . p. col3 .ij. s. / iij. oues p. col3 Sa .xxij. đ. .vj. đ. j. Cr. fru. p. ij. s vj. đ. / iij. far . aue . p. c913 .ij. s. Ior ap Ioke htībo. tax j. bou. p.v. s/ij. eqos. p.

c°l3 .v. s./v. vac . p . c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d. iij. auia .ij. anoz . Sa .iii. š .vij. đ. p. c°l3 .ij. š / xv. oues p. c°l3 .vj. đ. j. Cr fru .p. ij. š .vj. đ. iij. Cr far aue p . col3 .ij. s.

Feydath ht in bo . tax .j. iumtū .p .v. s / j. boū .p Sma .iiij. .v. s. v. vac . p colz .iij. s .iiij. d. / iij. adia .ij. anoz . p . colz .ij. 8 .xxiij. oues . p . c l3 .vj. d. iij. Cr . fru . p c l3 .ij. 8 .vj. đ. / iiij. Cr far aue . p col3 .ij. s.

Ioz ap Bled ht in bo . tax .j. iumtū p .v. s. ij. vac . p . Sa.xvj. đ. col3 .iij. š .iiij. đ .iij. adia .ij. anoz p col3 .ij. š. j. Cr . fru . p .ij. š .vj. đ.

Mađ ap Bleđ řit i bo . tax .j. iumtu p.v. s. / ij. vac . p. csl3 Sa.xij. đ. .iij. s. .iiij. đ. j. auliū .ij. anoz . p. .ij. s. dim. Cr fru . p. xv. đ. Ykest htī. bo. tax .ij. boū. p.v. s. / ij. iumta p.v. s. /

iij. vac p. col3 .iij. s .iiij. adia .ij. anoz p col3 .ij. s. / xxiiij. Sa iiij. š .ij. đ. oues . p c°l3 .vj. đ. j. Cr fru . p .ij. s .vj. đ. / v. Cr far aue . p c⁹l₃ .ij. §.

Sa .iiij. 3 Dđap Ioke ha i bo . tax .ij. eqos . p .v. s. / ij. boũ . p .v. s / .iij. d . õ. 40

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v. vač. p. c°l; .iij. š. .iiij. đ. xxx. oues p. c°l; .vj. đ. j. Cř. App. Af. fru. p. ij. š. vj. đ. / v. Cř fař aue. p. c°l; .ij. š.

Ioz ap Elidyr ħt in bo . tax .iiij. boũ . ρ . c°lʒ .v. š. / iij. 1340.]
eq°s . ρ . c°lʒ .v. š. / ij. aŭia .ij. ānoz . ρ . c°lʒ .ij. š.—x. oues . S² vij. š
ρ . c°lʒ .vj. đ. / vj. Cr . fru . ρ . c°lʒ .ij. š .vj. đ. / .ix. Cr far .j. đ.
aue . ρ . c°lʒ .ij. š. / vj. vac ρ . c°lʒ .iij. š .iiij. đ. / ij. Cr piš
τ orđ . ρ c°lʒ .xvj. đ. / uteñ . ρ .vj. š .viij. đ.

Dđ Du ħt ī bo . tax .j. ium̃tū . \vec{p} .v. \vec{s} / .ij. vaz . \vec{p} . \vec{c} l; .iij. \vec{s} .iiij. \vec{d} ./ ij. boū . \vec{p} .c°l; .v. \vec{s} / iij. auia .ij. ānoz . \vec{p} . \vec{S} a ij. \vec{s} .c°l; .ij. \vec{s} ./ x. oues . \vec{p} .c°l; .vj. \vec{d} ./ ij. Cr far aue . \vec{p} c°l; .ij. \vec{s} . Utž . \vec{p} .xij. \vec{d} .

Mađ ap Yriskynit h; ī bōis tax .j. eqū . p̂ .v. s. / iij. vac . Sa .xvij. p̂ c°l; .iij. s .iiij. đ / .iij. Cr far . aue . p̂ c°l; .ij. s. Uten p̂ đ. ob. .xij. đ.

Gyllabrýdi ħt in bo . tax .ij. boũ . \hat{p} c°l3 .v. s. / j. iumtũ \hat{p} .v. s / v. vac . \hat{p} . c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. \hat{d} . v. oues . \hat{p} . c°l3 .vj. \hat{d} . Sa iij. s .j. j. Cr . fru . \hat{p} . ij. s .vj. \hat{d} . j. Cr . or \hat{d} . \hat{p} .xv. \hat{d} . / iiij. Cr far aue . \hat{p} c°l3 .ij. s. Uten . \hat{p} .xij. \hat{d} .

Ioz ap Deikę ħt ī bo . tax .ij. bou .p . c lz .v. s. / iij. ium̃ta .p . c lz .v. s. / viij. vac .p c lz .iij. s .iiij. d. j. adiū S .v. s. .iij. ānoz .p .ij. s .vj. d. / ix. oues .p . c lz .vj. d. / ij. C r. fru .p . c lz .ij. s. vj. d. / v. C r far aue .p . c lz .ij. s. / j. C r ord .p .xvj. d.

Iean Du fit î bo . tax .ij. vac . \hat{p} . $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.iij. \tilde{s} .iiij. \tilde{d} / iij. S^{a} .xiij. adia .ij. ānoz . \hat{p} $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.ij. \tilde{s} .v. ones . \hat{p} $c^{\varsigma}l_{3}$.vj. \tilde{d} . / j $C\tilde{r}$ \tilde{c} dio. far . \tilde{p} .iij. \tilde{s} .

Eynő ap Deikę ħt in bo . tax .j. boũ . p̂ .v. \(\mathbf{s}.\) / ij. ium̃ta . p̂ . c°l\(\mathbf{s}\) .v. \(\mathbf{s}.\) / v. vac . p̂ c°l\(\mathbf{s}\) .iij. \(\mathbf{s}\) .iiij. \(\mathbf{d}\) . j. auiū .iij. \(\mathbf{a}\) no\(\mathbf{z}\) .xj. \(\mathbf{d}\) .ob. \(\mathbf{s}\) .iij. \(\mathbf{s}\) / xlvj. oues . p̂ c°l\(\mathbf{s}\) .vj. \(\mathbf{d}\). Uteñ .iij. \(\mathbf{s}\) .iiij. \(\mathbf{d}\) / iij. \(\mathbf{c}\) r ob. \(\mathbf{r}\) iij. \(\mathbf{s}\) .vj. \(\mathbf{d}\). / iij. \(\mathbf{c}\) r . far aue . p̂ c°l\(\mathbf{s}\) .ij. \(\mathbf{s}\). j. \(\mathbf{c}\) r . ord \(\mathbf{p}\) .xvj. \(\mathbf{d}\).

Ađ ap Eynő ħtī bo . tax .j. boũ . p̂ .v. š. / ij. eqºs p̂ . cºl; Sa .v. š .v. š / viij. vač p̂ cºl; .iij. š .iiij. đ. L . oues . p̂ . cºl; .vj. đ. .vj. đ.

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Uteñ. p. iij. s. / j. Cr. fru. c dio. p iij. s.ix. d / iij. Cr far APP. Af. aue . p col3 .ij. s. ij. Cr. orđ. p .xvj. d. A.D.

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Dđ ap Ađ fit in bo . tax .iij. bou . p . c l; .v. s. j. equ . 1340.7 p.v. s / iiij. vac . p col3 .iij. s .iiij. d. ij. adia .iij. anoz . p Sa .iiii. š c°l3 .ij. š .vj. d / xx. oues . p .c°l3 .vj. d / Uteñ . p .xij. d / ij. .iiij. đ. Cr fru . p . col; ij. s .vj. d / v. Cr far aue . p col; ij. s. / ord ob. P xvj. [d].

Mad Cor lit ī bo . tax .ij. boū . p . colz .v. s / iij. iumta .p c°l3 .v. s. / viij. vac . p c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d. / iij. aûia .ij. ānoz . Sa vj. š .iij. đ. p. col; ij. s. / xliiij. oues. p. col; vj. d. / Uteñ. p. ij. s. j. Cr fru . p. ij. s. vj. d. / j. Cr . ord p. xvj. [d] / iiij. Cr far aue . p col; .ij. 3.

Sa xiiij.

Sa .ij. 3 .x. d.

đ. qa.

Filii Iean Gam ht in bo . tax .ij. bou . p .v. s. j. iumtu Sa iii. š .v. đ. p.v. \$ / v. vac. p. c9l3. iij. \$.iiij. d. xx. oues p c9l3.vj. d/ .iiij. Cr. far aue . p. col3 .ij. s. dim. Cr. fru . p. xv. d.

Eynő ap Ađ ht in bo . tax .ij. vac . p . col3 .iij. s .iiij. d. j. auliū .ij. anoz p ij. s. vij. oues . p col3 .vj. d. dim. Cr. fru . p .xv. đ. j. Cr . orđ . p .xv. đ. j. Cr far . c dio . p .iij. š.

Elydir ht in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s / iiij. vac . p . col3 .iij. 8 .iiij. d / iij. auia ij. anoz p colz .ij. 8 / xx. oues p colz .vj. đ. / Uten . p .xij. đ / j. Cr . fru . p .ij. s .vj. đ / iij. Cr . far . aue . p .col; .ij. s.

Mađ ap Eynő ht in bo . tax .j. boû . p v. s .iiij. vac . p c°l3 .iij. š .iiij. đ / .j. ium̃tū. p .v. š .ij. auia .ij. ānoz . p c°l3 Sa .iii. š .ij. š . / xl. oues . p c l3 .vj. d . / v. Cr far . aue . p c l3 .ij. s . .ij. đ. / iiij. Cr . orđ . p col3 .xvj. đ.

Mađ ap Ioz ht in bo . tax .j. iumtū . p v. s / .iiij. vac . p Sa j. š.x. c°l3 .iij. š .iiij. đ / iij. adia .ij. ānoz p c°l3 .ij. š . / xx. oues . đ. p col3 .vj. d. / j. Cr. ord. p .xvj. d / .iiij. Cr. far. p col3 .ij. š.

Dđ ap Teg tt in bo . tax .ij. bou . p col3 .v. s . / ij. eqos . p col3 .v. s . / iij. vac . p col3 .iij. s .iiij. d .iij. adia .ij. anoz . Sa iiij. š p. c°l3 .ij. s. / xx. oues . p c°l3 .vj. d / .iij. Cr . fru . c di° . p .vij. đ.

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.ij. § .vj. đ .vj. Cr. far aue . p . c⁵l; .ij. § .j. Cr orđ . c di^o . App. Af. p .ij. § .

Io ap \tilde{G} g ht in bo . tax .ij. vac . \tilde{p} c°l3 .iij. \tilde{s} .iiij. \tilde{d} / .j. $\frac{1320-1340.]}{1340.]}$ ium tū . \tilde{p} .v. \tilde{s} / iij. au ia . \tilde{p} .c°l3 .ij. \tilde{s} .iiij. oues . \tilde{p} c°l3 Sa .ij. \tilde{s} .vj. \tilde{d} / j. Cr fru . \tilde{p} .ij. \tilde{s} .vj. \tilde{d} .j. Cr or \tilde{d} c di° . \tilde{p} .ij. \tilde{s} / ij. Cr . far \tilde{c} . di° . \tilde{p} . c°l3 .ij. \tilde{s} .

Guff ap Ioz ht in bo . tax / ij. bou . p . col3 .v. s / j. equ Sa .iij. s.

p.v. 3 / j. vac . p. iij. 3 .iiij. d.

Gwenlt f Ygof ht in bo . tax / v. vac . p . c^9 l3 .iij. s Sa .xxij. .iiij. d / ij. aûia .ij. ānoz . p . c^9 l3 .ij. s .viij. oues . p . c^9 l3 d. .vj. d . / j. Cr . fru . p .ij. s .vj. d.

Iean Ameth at in bo . tax .ij. boū . p . c . s . / j. ium̃tū p .v. s / ij. vac . p . c . s .iij. s .iiij. s .v. oues . s . s . s .ij. s .vj. s .ij. s .iij. s .vj. s .j. s .vj. s .vj.

.xvj. đ . / ij. Cr . far . p . col; .ij. s.

Dđ ap Melýř ħt in bo . tax .j. boũ . p .v. s / iij vac . p . c l3 .iij. s .iiij. d / ij. aŭia .ij. ānoz p . c l3 .ij. d / viij. oues . d

Iean ap Teg ħt in bo . tax .j. ium̃tū . p .v. s / iiij. vac . p . c log .iij. s .iiij. t / xxv. oues . p . c log .vj. t .iij. alia .ij. t .vii. t .vii.

ānoz. p colz. ij. s / j. Cr. fru. p. ij. s.vj. d.

Ith Hacarn ħt in bo . tax .iij. bou . p . c°l3 .v. \$ / iij.
eq°s . p . c°l3 .v. \$ / iiij. vac . p . c°l3 .iij. \$.iiij. \$ / iij. auia Sa .ij. \$
.iij. ānoz . p c°l3 .ij. \$.vj. \$. / xl. oues . p . c°l3 .vj. \$. / ij. vj. \$.vj. \$.ob.
Cr fru . p c°l3 .ij. \$.vj. \$.viij. Cr . far aue . p c°l3 .ij. \$ / ij.
Cr ord . p . c°l3 .xvj. \$.

Ior Du fit in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s . / j. equ . p .v. s .ij. vac . p . c°l; .iij. s .iiij. d . Uten . p .xij. d / ij. Cr . fru . Sa ij. s p c°l; .ij. s .vj. d / v. Cr far au . p . c°l; .ij. s . / j. Cr . ord .v. d.

p xvj. d .iiij. oues . p . c l z .vj. d.

Teğ Goch ht in bo . tax .v. boŭ . p . c^2l_3 .v. s / iij. eq^s . p c^2l_3 .v. s / iiij. vac . p . e^2l_3 .iiij. s .iiij. d / iij. aulia .iij. ano_z . s .vij. d . p . e^2l_3 .ij. s .vj. d / e^2l_3 .iij. eq^s .vij. eq^s .vij.

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APP. Af. ij. Cr. fru. \hat{p} . c^{9} l; .ij. \tilde{s} . vj. \tilde{d} . / vj. Cr. far aue. \hat{p} . c^{9} l; .ij. \tilde{s} / ij. \tilde{s} / ij. Cr. ord \hat{p} c^{9} l; .xvj. \tilde{d} .

1320-1340.] Iean ap Mad ht in bo . tax .ij. ium̃ta . p̂ . c°l3 .v. š / iij. Sa iij. š. boū . p̂ .c°l3 .v. š / ij. vac . p̂ . c°l3 .iij. š .iiij. d̂ . Uteñ .xij. d̂ ob. mi°. / ij. Cr̃ fru . p̂ c°l3 .ij. š .vj. d̂ / ij. Cr̃ . far̃ aue . p̂ c°l3 .ij. š / ij. Cr̃ . ord . p̂ c°l3 .xvj. d̂.

Teğ ap Ie^an ht in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s / iiij. eq^os p Sa .v. s colo .v. s / iiij. vac . p colo .iij. s .iiij. d .iij. adia .ij. anoz . p colo .ij. s ./ xl. oues p colo .vj. d ./ j. Cr fru . p .ij. s .vj. d / .v. Cr far . p .colo .ij. s / ij. Cr ord . p colo .xvj. d.

Sa xiij. đ. Ađ ap Teğ ħt in bo . tax . ij. eq°s . \hat{p} . c°l $_3$.v. $_3$ / ij. vac . qa . \hat{p} c°l $_3$.iij. $_3$.iiij. $_4$ d.

Hynaf ap Melŷr t Mađ ap Iokṛ tint in bōis tax .vj. boũ .
Sa vj. š p c°l3 .v. s .iij. eq°s p c°l3 .v. s / vij. vac . p . c°l3 .iij. s
.vj. đ. ob. .iiij. đ. .iiij. alia .ij. ānoz . p c°l3 .ij. s / v. oues p c°l3 .vj. đ /
Uteñ .xij. đ .ij. Cr . fru . p c°lz .ij. s .vj. đ .viij. Cr far p
c°l3 .ij. s / iiijor Cr orđ . p c°l3 .xvj. đ.

Sa xv. đ. Tuđ ap Hynaf ht in bo . tax .j. bou . p .v. s / j. equ . p .v. s / ij. vac . p c l3 .iij. s .iiij. đ / j. Cr far . p .ij. s.

Meric ap Iokę t m̃r sua tint in bo . tax .iij. bou . p² c²lʒ .s. tx. d. v. s² / iij. vac . p² . c²lʒ .iij. s .iiij. d. / ij. eq°s p² c²lʒ .v. s. j. auiū .ij. ānoş . p² .ij. s² / x. oues p² c²lʒ .vj. d² / iij. Cr fru . p² c²lʒ .ij. s .vj. d² / ij. Cr . far . p² .ij. s² / ij. Cr ord p² . c²lʒ .xvj. d.

Sa xiiij. Eýnő ap Brygký fit ī bo . tax .iij. vac . p². c°l; .iij. s .iiij. đ. d. .j. adiū . p². .ij. s.—x. oues . p². .iij. s .iiij. đ / j Cr . fru . p². .ij. s .vj. đ.

Sa xiiij. Iean Vichan ht in bo . tax .j. iumtū . p .v. s / ij. vac . p . d. c l3 . iij. s .iiij. d / ij. adia p .ij. s—j. Cr . far . p .ij. s.

Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw, 1320-40.

Smª . ville . in ptē rege—xij. lib .xij. š .vij. đ.

Maltaht.

exar.

 $xv^a.$ Cōmoti de Maltraetħ—L . iij. lĩ .v. § .j. đ . $q^a.$

APP. Af.

ръ. [A.D. 1320-1340.]

[En-dorsed.]

рb.

De Comitatu Angles.

Maltraħ.

Smª exaĩata de toto Cōmoto—Liij. lĩ .v. ŝ .j. đ . qª.

APPENDIX Ag.

ACCOUNT OF THE ISSUES OF ABERFFRAW, 25 EDW. III., A.D. 1351.

Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1149, No. 1, Public Record Office.

Aberfrau.

APP. Ag.

A.D.

1351.

Compot⁹. Thom de Harbergh & Wilti de Walton firmar Maner de Aberfrau. de exitibus eiusdm a fo sci Michis anno regni Regis Ec tcii post conquestu xxiiijto. & Principat⁹ dni Ec Princip Walt Duc Cornub & Comitis Cestr viijo. usq. idm fm pxim sequ anno dci Rege xxvto Principat⁹ dni Princ ixo.

Exit⁹.
dnicoz.

D exitib; iiij. caruc îre ibm que ad vj. lî ext p ann sicut cont in extent facta . tempe Reg aui Re nūc . Quint caruc îre ibm que dimitteb diùse tenent de Trefcastel p .lx. \$ p ann . uni pati qd ad vj. \$.viij. d ext p eand extent t redd anno pced xv. \$. at pato quod sitit ext ad vj. \$.viij. d. Piscar eius maner que ad ij. \$. ext .j Molend de Dyndryn qd ad xl. \$ ext t r sot x. \$.j. d ult extent . alt molend ibm qd ad xl. \$ [ext] t r sot x. \$.j. d ult eandm extent . Toi mot voc Mullebunt qd sîlit ad xl. \$ ext p ann . t r . sot x. \$ j. d ult eandm extent . xxx acr îre in vilt de Abfrau que fuer Wilt Daniel . exist in man dni ut escaet p mort eius dm Wilti que sot dimitti ad iij. \$.vj. d ext extent seu cui dm pastur infra dcm Maner que ad xx. \$ extend p annu . Nec de .lx. \$

tenent de Trefcastel tenent int se j. caruc tre dud de dnico dni sic arrent post confect extent p ann ad iiijor tenent vidett Oim scoz. Pur te Marie Aploz Ph t Jacob t Gut Augusti .xxix. s .viij. d . De redd ass lib tenenc ville de Abfrau sicut cont in extent ad pdcos iiij. tenenc xv. s .xj. d . De redd ass

Account of the Issues of Aberfraw, 1351.

Hameletti de Bodeueryk ad pdcos .iiij. tmīos x. š . de redd ass lib teñ de Trewaspatrike ad pdcos .iiij. tmīos .v. š vj. đ . De redd villañ eiusdm ville de Trūc ad eosdm tmīos xiij. š vij. đ . de eisdm villañ p firma butiř . lac topac arrent ad eosd . tmos ix. š .viij. đ . de redd ix villañ hameletti de Trefberwete ad eosdm tmos v. š .iiij. đ de eisdm p iiij. cannoc fariñ ordi ad eosdm tmos iiij. š .vj. đ . de eisdm p ix mlton ar ad eosdm tmos xviij. đ . p ix agñ ar ad .ij. š iij. đ . de eisdem p

APP. Ag. [A.D. 1351.]

butur arr ad eosdem tmios vij. d. de eisdm p Ciiij ouis galliñ arrent ad eosdm tmios .ix. d . de redd .ix. galliñ de eisd ad eosdm Pmos .xxxvj. 3 .ij. d ob de eisdm p Clxj. opibus j. die ad eosam Emīos . ij š de reda j. villn qui quonam voc Dd de Hibnico . Hameletti de Dynthladan loc med błoż suoż I lact qd voc Myonith ad eosam tmos viij. 3 .vj. a. De fit Gregor ap . Lt . p j. cannoc fri t iiij cannoc auen ad eosam tmios xvj. d . de eisdm p ij mlton t ij. agn ad eosdm tmos vj. d. de eisdm p butir ad eosdm fmīos .j. d. ob de eisdm p xl. oũ galliñ ad eosdm tmos .vj. đ, de eisdm p vj. galliñ ad eosam tmos .iij. s .ix. a de eisam p opib; xxx dierū ad eosam Pmos xiij d ob . de Pellipar p di cannoc farine ordi mediet j. mlton .j. agn .j. galln t .x. cunis butir ad eosdm tmios xj. d qª, de eodm p opib; vij. diez . ad eosdm tmosiij. 3 .iiij. d de redd villañ hameletti de Keuentrefau ad eosdm tmios xviij d . ob de eisdm p j. agn t di xxx. Cun butir v. galln di .j. Histoz blad de opac iij. diez . ad eosdm fmīos seu de M'lionnyth . seu viij s viij d de redd villañ de Abfrau p ann ad eosdm Pmios xlviij. š vij. đ de eisđm p x. cannoc di fri . vij cannoc fariñ aueñ iiij cannoc fariñ ordi ad eosdm tmios vj. s .viij. d de eisam p x. cannoc auen ad pand ad eosam tinos .xvj. s .iij d de ix villañ eiusdm ville p lact iij. vacc iiij mlton di .ix. angu xxvij galln .Cl. ou t butir ad eosam tmos v. s.j. at de vj. tenent vast p iij mlton vj. agn . ix galln .C. ou t butir ad eosam tmos ij. š .iij. d de ix villan dce ville p xxvij gallin ad

Account of the Issues of Aberfraw, 1351.

App. Ag. eosām timos ij š.iij. at de eisām p opib; iij dierū ad blad dni sarcland ad eosām timīos xxx. s de eisām villan p igne tistramne in Cur dni Reg ad eosām tilxvj. s.ix. at de opib;

autupi CCC hosm quos xv villā Maner inuēient t iiij hosm quos villañ forinc inuenient ad eosam tmos .lxxv. s de DC hosb; teq ad theam p j. diem ad eosam tmos . Seu de ptitis t pquis Cur eiusam Maner p temps comp releu t Gobr tolā Nunā ibm pquis Cur Nunā eazām seu xx. s . de firma portar ibm nā r hic eo qād dcm Maner de Abfrau una cū omib; exitib; t pfic pācis eiām Maner ptiñ seu inde quouismodo puen conc pācis Thom t Wiltmo ex dimiss Johnis Delues locū teñ Iustic Northwalt t Camer ibm p temp huis compi . Reda inde ano .xx. lī.

De quib; xx. lĩ iidm Thom t Willms r inferius. D bon intestar defunctor escaet nt r. q. Willms de Ellerton firmar escaetrie th hoi phic ad firma p tot Com Angles ut supa. D aml c tenenc Maner in Trno vic seu de Wrecco mar no atting valorem xl. s nt r q dcus Willms de Alerton firmar vic Angles th eadm phic ulta firma suam. Nec de wrecco mar dcm valorem xl. s exced nt q; idm Wilt de Allerton deb inde comput t r in comp suo de hoc anno.

D xij. đ de incro firme xxx. acr tre in Maner de Abfrau exist in mañ dni a diu p reul c post mort Wilti Daniet qui eas teñ ad tim vite de doñ .Lt. Princip ulta iij s vj. đ ad quos pius dimit dimiss anno ultio ptito Howel Tew p Thom le Trnour Esc sic cont in comp eius Thom de eodm anno ni q firmar int eadm pfic infra firmā suam ut sa.

r̃ Esc̃.

ĩ Viã.

ř Vič.

APPENDIX Ba.

EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE CASTLE AND HONOR OF DENBIGH, 8 EDW. III., A.D. 1335.

Extent of the Villata of Astret Canon. Progenies of Canon ap Lauwargh located there.

ss Villata de Astrete Canoñ.

APP. Ba. A.D.

Villata de Astret Canon que dum fuit intega in manib; pgeij Canon ap Lauwargh in .iiij. gauellis quaz quett gauella reddit de Tunge tempe Princip .ij. & .vj. d . de quib; patebit statim inpostez Et sunt omes tenentes libi . 7 c . vidett.

h; domũ

1335. [p. 75.]

Ithel Loyd ap Cadugan Lewelyn Vaghan ap Lt ? ha domū Ithel ap Ioz Duy ap Lt tenent di gauelt integr que fuit Lauwargh Vaghan reddendo de Tunge int se xv. đ tmio Gauella Oîm Scoz Et p pastu Princip ad Natat Dni .xxij. d . t Lauquott alio îmino de iijb3 îmis supadcis .xv. d . t ceta suic wargn Vaghan. cum aliis in cõi ut p3 inferius et hent excamb in Wyckewere la alibi p eoz heredit in Astret. Ita qd tota eoz hedit in Astret est in mañ dni 't aren' inferis ut patebt.

Cadugan Bottum ap Edeñ . Lewel Duy ap Eignon . h; dom non h; dom Eden ap Tuder ap Eden Ken ap Heillyn ap Mad i Madoke frat eius tenet di gauelt integr que fuit Ioz ap Canon . Reddendo de Tunge p am. îmis pdcis xv. d Et ceta suicia in omib; ut di gauelt pcedens . et omes hent excamb in aliis villis ut ceti supius Ita qd illa di gauella integr remane; dno in Astret 1 appuatr ut patebit inferius.

Dî gaũ

APP. Ba. h; domū Ken ap Routh ap Ienafe ap Ririd Heilyn ap Grono ap A.D. ha domū 1335. Ririd Eden Loyd ap Ken ap Grono Griff ap Lt Eign habet domū h3 domū Gaû Ken . frat eius Guyn ap Madoke Gogh Cadug ap Ririd ap Ienaf ap Canon. h; domū het domū Eignon Bleth ap Ienafe ap Cadug & Ioz ap Cadug ap Yeua ten tciam ptem t deciam ptem gauelt Ienafe ap Canon . [p. 76.] reddendo de Tunge int se .xij. d qa . et p pastu Princip ad Natał Dni Dni .ij s .ij. d ob qa t quott alio tmīo de iijb3 tinis pdictis xviij. & t ceta suicia in coi ut patebit inferius Et hent excamb in aliis villis Ita qd tota gauella ista in Astret integr remaneat dno ? appuatr cum aliis t c. habet domū non h3 domū Yeuan Loyd ap Grono ap Cadug . Ken 't Dauid non ha domū h₃ domū fres eius Eden Loyd ap Mad ap Grono. Madoke ap Ioz ap non h₃ dom non h3 domũ Grono . Euer ap Ithel ap Gron Dauid ap Ioz Grono . non ha domū non habet dom non h3 dom Eden ap Dd ap Grono Ioz frat eius t Yeuan ap Ioz ap Gaũ Grono tenent mediet t xxiiijtam ptem gauelt Eignon ap Eignon Canon . Reddendo de Tunge Emīo Oim Scoz xvj. đ qa . t ap Canon. p pastu Princip ad Natał Dni ij. s v đ t quott alio imio de iij emis pdicte xix d't cela suic in coi cum aliis inferius. Et hent excamb in aliis villis Ita qd tota ista gauella in Astret reman; dno 't appruat' inferius ut patebit. ha dom h3 domu Madoke ap Eignon ap Ken. Mouryke 7 Ken fres eius h3 domū h3 dom non h3 dom Eignon ap Griffuth Eden ap Griffuth Vaghan Griff ap Yenaf

Digauelt Mouryk ap Canon, ap Griff Owen ap Grono ap Ken . Griffuth ap Bleth Loyd het dom het dom non het dom non het dom Dauid frat eius Tuder ap Blethyn . Heillyn ap Ken ap Bleth non het dom Eden frat eius Ioz ap Griff Gogh & Blethyn & Pythle fres eius tenent iij ptes di gauelle Mouryke ap Canon & duas

ptes quarte ptis eiusdem gauelle . Reddendo de Tunge p APP. Ba. annū tmīo Oim Scoz xiij. d qa Et p pastu Princip ad Natat Dni ij. š.v. đob qa Et quott alio tmīo de iijb; tmis pdictis xx. d t ceta suic in coi ut supa t c. t hent excamb in aliis villis Ita qd dca di gaŭ in Astret remaneat integr dno ? appruatr cum aliis ? c.

A.D. 1335.

Mad ap Dd ad Eignon Dauid ap Lauwargh Duy Dd ap [p. 77.] dom h dom h dom Mouryke Gogh Heillyn Cucca Yeu ap Dd ap Mad . 7 Nynyat ñh dom ñh dom. ñh dom. ap frat eius t Anneys Moythin Eden ap Eignon ap Keneuth Canon. ñ h dom ñ h dom Griff frat eius Mad Gogh ap Ioz t Groñ ap Keñ Gogh tenent duas ptes i quinta ptem di gaueli Nynyat ap Canon reddendo de Tunge tmîo Oîm Scoz xj. d Et p pastu Princ ad Natat Dni xvij. đ qa. I quott alio tmīo de iij tmis pdictis xj. đ. ob qa. Et ceta suicia in coi ut patebit inferius t hent excamb in aliis villis Ita qd ista dia gauella reman; integr dno t appuatr cū aliis inferius.

ss Smª Tunge Villate de Astret p am tmīo Oim Scoz vj. s .xj. d ob qa.

Et scid qd tota villata de Astret Canon deuenit ad man9 đni ptim p viam escaet rone tenenc qui obierunt conta pacem I ptim p viam excambioz et continet tota villata Dlxxiiij acr De quib; sumunt ad Maneriŭ de Kilforn quod extendit in Escaete. Comoto de Kaymergh CCviij acr ? xviij ptic ? includun infra puù peum iuxª Castm de Dynbiegh ly acr j. rod di t v. ptic. Et arentant ut patet inferieus Cxij acr in bouat ? acr Et sumunt^r ad Maniū de Astret Oweyn quod est in Comoto de Kamgh xiiij acr dî t iiij ptic t incluse fuerunt infa pcu de

APP. Ba. Lewenny que nūc arentan^r cū eodem pco put patet supius

A.D.
Ciij acr̃ dĩ l xxxvj ptic̃. Et sunt in viis l vastis cõib3. xxx
acr̃ l xvij ptic̃.

T iste .x. acr arent fuer coram đno apđ Wodestoke p .x. š. pam. Videar quo waranto sunt nunc ad iii. š iiij. đ.

Willms del Mos tenet unam bouatam con x. ac reque põita fuit in Rentali villate de Lewenny erronice t reddit pannum ad tmīos Pen t sci Michis pequales porcones iij. s. iiij d Et idem Wilts tenet nichilomin x. ac rep quib solebat reddere pannū iij siiij d tmis pdcis t nūc het illas quie alloc p boua sua ptin ad Burg suū de Dynbiegh inframuros.

Adam de Rossyndale tenet unam bouatam Pre con .x. acr que prius erronice posi fuit in Rentali villate de Lewenny I reddit p a^m ad duos Pmīos Pdcos iij. s .iiij d.

Iones de Swynemor ${\bf t}$ Iones fit Wilti Egelyne tenent j bouat fre cont ${\bf x}$. acr ${\bf p}$ qua solebat reddere ${\bf p}$ an ad duos finos fidos iij ${\bf s}$ iiij ${\bf d}$ Et nūc allocant Ioni de Swynemor quiet ${\bf p}$ bouat sua ${\bf p}$ tiñ ad Bur ${\bf g}$ suū de Dyn ${\bf b}$ infra muros ${\bf d}$ ${\bf c}$. Et fuit ista bouata ${\bf p}$ ri ${\bf p}$ põita in Rentali villate de Lewenny.

Ricus de Fermery tenet unam bouatam simitr cont x. acr dre que prius posita fuit erronice in Rentali villate de Lewenny p qua solebat reddere p annu dmis ddictis iij s iiij d. Et nuc tenet illam quiet p bouat sua ad burg suu de Dynbinfa muros t c.

Ioñes de Lonnesdale tenet unam bouat fre cont x. acr que prius erronice ponebat in Lewenny r f p—iij. s .iiij d.

Ss Smª Firm bouat—Pent v. s. Sic p annū x s p iij bouat in tmis—Sci Mich v. s. Sic p annū x s p iij bouat

Willms Crteys tenet p Cartam dni Wilti de Monte Acuto .xx. acr Pre imppm p quib; solebat reddere p annū xx s.

Ioĥes de Mostoñ tenet iiij acr tre pc acr viij d . reddendo p annu ad duos tmios pdcos—ij. s .viij d . Adam le Carpent tenet vij acr tre pc acr viij d reddo p annu ad duos tmios

pdc̃os—ij š .viij đ . Willm̃s t Iones de Swynemor teñ ij acr App. Ba.
ei°đ p̃c r̃ t ṗ xvj. d.

1335,

Iohes Egelyne t₃ .ij acr eius pc r r an th is pdcis xvj d. Thomas de Hulton tenet iiij acr d di tie unde .j. acr pc viij d . t iij acr d pc acr vj d . r p am t p—ij s .v. d.

Alex Danney t; vj acr r p am tmis pdcis—iij. s .iij. d.

Wilts del Wode tenet j. plac pc iiij đ t x. acr tre pc acr vj đ reddendo tmis pdcis—v. s .iiij. đ.

Iones de Hoghton tenet vij acr tre pc acr xij d reddendo

Pmis pdictis—vij s.

Iord de Byngeleye tenet j acr r tmis pdcis—xij d. Henr Grym tenet iiij acr tre eiusdem pc reddo tmis pdcis iiij s.

Thomas de Lonnasdale tenet v. acr eiusdem pc r tis pdcis

v. š

Ioñes de Lonnesdale tenet v ac
r eiusdem pc . r \mathfrak{k} p $\mathbf{a^m}$.v. s.

Ricus de Bayton tenet j. plac pc vj đ t iiij acr tre pc acr xij d . reddendo p annu tminis pdictis—iiij. š .vj. đ.

Sma Firm acr de Pent xxiij s .ix d.

Astret in terminis Sci Mich xxiij s .ix d

Sic p annu xlvij s .vj d p ij plac t lxij. acr tre.

Et prea tenent quier tam int bouar qam int acras ut pdicit—l acr que solebant reddere xxx s. p ann q que nunc nichil reddunt ut sup.

Et sic supsunt l acr t medietas uni rode . que cedunt in auauntagiù mensur tenenciù unde dñs nullu capit annuale pficuu que si extracte fuissent valerent p am admin xxv s. ob qa pc acr .v. d.

APPENDIX Bb.

Extent of the Villata of Nanthyn Canon. Progenies of Canon ap Lanwargh located there.

Villata de Nanthyn Canon.

APP. B b
A.D.
1335.

Villata de Nanthyn Canon . que con in ter bosce t vaste cu hamelt de Pennankyngy velxiiij ac iij rod consistit in manib pgenieij Canon ap Lawargh absq, Tunge t Treth que est hamelt ptinens ad Astret Canon t tenet in iiij gauelt de quib statim respon inposte Et est por cuiuslibt gauelt scdm equam pticipacõem Cxlj ac t xxx pti tre . bosci t vasti t c.

Dî gauelt

[p. 86.]

Ithel Loyd ap Caduğ & coheredes & pticipes sui quoz noïa patent in villa de Astret Canon tenent di gauelt integr que fuit Lauwargh Vaghan p qua fac omid suic in Astret Canon. Et ideo nt hic Et dis nullam het ppartem in ista di gauelt & c.

Dĩ gaũ Ioz ap Canoñ.

wargh

Vaghan.

Cadugan Butoñ 't coheredes 't pticipes sui quoz noïa patent in villa de Astret 't tenent hic di gauelt que fuit Ioz ap Canon integri fac p ea omid suic in Astret Et ideo nt hic Et dis nullam het ppartem in ista di gauelt.

Dï Gaû Ienaf(ap Ken . Routh ap Ienn^afe 't coheredes 't pticipes sui quoz noïa patent in Astret Canoñ tenent hic duas ptes gauelt que fuit Ienn^afe ap Canoñ fac p inde omia suic in Astret Canoñ Et ïo nt hic . Et teia ps istius gauelt est escaet d'ni rone mortuoz con^a pac ut p3 inferi⁹.

Canon. Gaũ

Yeû Loite ap Groñ ap Caduğ t coheredes t pcenar sui quoz nora patent in Astret tenent hic tres ptes gau Eigñ ap Canon fac omia suic in Astret Et ideo nichil hic. Et quarta

Eigň ap Canon

ps eiusdem gauelt he est escaet dni . que appruat cū at esc APP. Bb. inferiu9. A.D. 1335.

Mad ap Eign ap Ken t pcenar sui quoz noïa patent in Astret Canon . ten hic di gaŭ Meura ap Canon integr fac p ea omid suic in Astret Et ideo n' hic Et dns nulla het Esc de ita di gaŭ.

Dî gaũ Meura ap Canon.

Mad ap Dd ap Eign t pcenar sui quoz noïa patent in Astret Canon . teñ totam dimid gauelt Nynyat ap Canoñ fac p ea omid suic in Astret Et ideo n' hic Et dns nlt het esc in ia di gaut.

Dī g aũ Nynvat Canon.

Et est ppars dni ibm fcia ps illius gauelt t quarta ps

illius gauelt que cont scam veram porcoem iiij ij acr .j. rod t xvij ptič di. Unde allocand sunt p excamb podarioz eiusdem Escaet. pgeij pimplend p eoz patimoniis in Astret Canon & Wennannoke Canon . xxix acr iij rođ di t iij ptič di.

Ken . Routh ten; . vij acr di veter tre pc acr vj. d reddo p annū ad tmīos Pent t sci Michis—iij š .ix d.

Idem Ken ten; in Pennanckyngy iij acr tre que fuerunt Fira Esc Ith Voil pc acr vj d reddendo p annu Pmis pdictis-xviij d.

Et în hucusq. ni p eis reddid toto tempe dni nuc quia [p. 87.] erronice põite fuer in Nanthyn Scoz & sic fraudelent dedicte Nos I concellate . Ideo leuent^r arrerag I c Et iacet illa Pra in j pec circumfossat. ubi dcus Ithel solebat in tempe Escaet redder.

Heillyn ap Gron to de assart bosci j acr .j. rod di t xiiij ptic p mensur Extent pc acr vj. d reddendo p annu ad duos Pmīos pdcos viij đ ob qa. tn hucusa, non reddidit nisi p una aca vj. đ.

Hugo Pygot solebat tenere hic xviij acr tre r pam ix s pc acr vj d quas excamb p pte Ken Routh in Wennannok Canon. Un idem Hugo . r de ista firma in incro ibm 7 Ideo nt de ista firma hic.

Videar que fuit pporco Ken. Routh in

nānok Canon . qd si aliqd auant potit accresce de dco excamb accrescat dno ex quo ambe ptes tenet in insr non hent potestat fac excamb sa lic dni

x 2

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šs. Sm^a Firme de Nanthyn Canon in Pminis— Penî ij. š .xj d ob q^a

Sči Mich iij s

Hbağ

S° p annū v š .xj đ ob q² cū xx đ ob q² de incro p xj acr iij rođ dĩ xiij ptič de incro.

Et residuū ppartis dni alloc podar de Astret Canon p eog hered ibm $\mathfrak T$ in Wennannok Canon $\mathfrak P\mathfrak T$. xxij acr di bosci p $q^a\mathfrak T$ hbag tota cõitas ville $\mathfrak T$ p annū ad duos $\mathfrak P$ mīos pdcos ix. s. S^a p3.

Ken Routh ten; ad firmam ppartem dni quam het in uno Molendino aquatico eiusdem ville r̃ p annū t p ij s̃. viij d.

Idem Keñ reddidit d'no annuatim incipiendo anno viijo . ut fater ij s . viij d p licenc leuand unu Molend fulloñ t c sup solu coe ut dict t c.

ss. Smª Firm Molendini ad Terminos

Pent—ij š . viij đ Sči Michis ijš . viij đ

APPENDIX Bc.

Extent of the Villata of Prees . Progenies of Canon ap Lauwargh and Pithle ap Lauwargh located there.

Villata of Prees.

Villata de Prees cum suis hamellis que cont pe magnum vastum quod est cõe ad omes tenentes dominii de Ros et de Rewaynok t Kavingh viij viij lxxviij acr j rod di que temporib; Principum reddidit de Tunge xx 3 o5 idem 1 villata intega fuit in manib; ver hered ante forisfcur Et consistit in tenura tenent. diusaz pgeniez tam liboz qam Natiuoz de quib; patet inferius primo de libis et postea de Natiuis.

De sexta pte eiusdem ville que consistit in tenura pgenieij Canō ap Lauwargh sunt iiij gauelt 't dïa que dum fuer intega reddiderunt de Tunge iij. & . iiij d.

Ithel Loit ap Cadug t pcenar sui quoz noia patent in wargh. Astret Canon ten hic di gauelt Lauwargh Vaghan integr re. de Tunge adinuicem p annu tmīo Oim Scoz iiij d ob t nulla alia suicia hic quia eoz suicia una cu suic om alioz de pgenie wargh Canon ap Lauwargh plene inscribunt^r in villis de Astret Canon.

Caduğ Bottum ap Edeñ 't pcenar sui quoz noia patent in Astret Canon teñ di gauelt Ioz ap Canon integre reddendo de Tunge int se tmīo pdco iiij. đ ot t nichil aliud hic q in Astret Canon & c.

Ken . Routh ap Ienaf 7 pcenar sui quoz nora patent in Astret Canon ten int se mediet t ixam ptem gauelle Iennaf ap

p. 90.]

A.D. 1335.

[p. 89.]

pgenie Cano ap Lau-

Di gaŭ Lau-Vaghan.

Dî gaû Ioz ap Canon.

APP. B c.
Gaũ
Tennaf

ap Canon. Canon hic reddendo de Tunge êmīo Oïm Scoz v. đ. ob. Et nulla fac alia suic hic quia in Astret Canon. Et ècia ps t xviij^a ps eiusdem gauelt hic sunt Escaet dni unde respondet inferius.

Gauelt Eigñ ap Canon. Iennaf Loit ap Groñ ap Cadug t pcenar sui quoz nõia patent in Astret Canon tenent ij ptes t quartam ptem teie ptis gauelt Eignoñ ap Canon. reddendo de Tunge tmīo Oïm Scoz vj t ot qa Et nulla alia suic hic quia in Astret Canon t tres pt. iije pt eiusdem gauelle hic sunt escaet dni unde respondet inferiu cat esc t c.

Dî gaũ Meur^a ap Canon, Mad ap Eigñ ap Keñ 't pcenar sui quoz noïa patent in Astret Canon teñ di gauelt Meur ap Canon hic integre reddo de Tunge adinuicem .iiij. d ob imio pdco Et nt aliud hic q i Astret Cañ.

Di gaŭ Nynyat ap Canon. [p. 91.] Mađ ap Dđ ap Eigñ 't pticipes sui quoz nõia patent in Astret Canon teñ duas ptes 't liam ptem loie ptis dĩ gauelt Nynyat ap Canoñ redđo de Tungt lmīo pdõo iij đ ob Et n aliud hic q in Astret Canon 't ij pĩ iij ptt eius dĩ gaũ sūt esc đni uñ r inferi.

Dî gauelt Keneûth ap Canoñ. Et di gauelt que fuit Keneuth ap Canon . et que redddt de Tunge iiij d'hic est pur l'integr escaet dni rone mortuoz cont pace Et inde respondet inferius cum aliis escaet.

D pgenie Pithle ap Lauwargħ. De sexta pte eiusdem ville . que consistit in tenura pgenieij Pithle ap Lauwargh sunt octo lecta . que dum fuerunt integr in manib; vere hedu ante conquestum . T c . reddiderunt de Tunge p annū iij. s .iiij. d . Videlt quodit lectū .v. d.

Wele Ioz ap Pithle. Inde primū lectū quod fuit Ioz ap Pithle t quod reddidit v. d de Tungę. integr accidit ad man⁹ dni tanq^am escaet̃ rone mortuoz cont^a pacem. t inde respondet inferius cū aliis escaet̃.

non h domū Eigñ ap Ioz ap Cadug l Ieu^an Vagh^an ap Ieu^an ap Elidur tenent mediet l quintam ptem de Wele Edenoweñ

ap Pithle reddo de Tunge tmio pdco iij d ob Et nt p pastu APP. Bc. Princ hic q3 soluut in Ros Ughdulas . vidett in villa de Tobrith nec aliquod aliud suiciū fac hic neg, ibi nec aliqui alii de ista pgenie nisi pastū Stalon t garcois lucar cū canib; Pennackew & Waission baghevn . Scdm quod huerunt domos seu tenentes put alii libi de isto Cômoto . T va ps T xa ps istius Wele sunt escaet dni Unde respondet inferius cum aliis escaet.

A.D. 1335. Wele Edenoweñ Pithle.

Ioz ap Dđ ap Bleth ten međ t vtam ptem de Wele Ithon Wele ap Pythle reddo de Tunge tmio pdco .iij. d ot t ceta suic ut pxm Wele pcedens t va ps t xa ps istius Wele sunt escaet đni Unde respondet cum aliis escaet inferius.

Ithon ap Pythle.

non hab; domū non het domū Ieuan ap Wyn ap Mad Dauid ap Ioz Vaghan Eign nö h domû non h dom Gogh ap Eignoñ Ieuan ap Dd ap Keñ Ieuan ap Dd ap Aur no het dom ñ h; domū Ieuan Vaghan ap Ieuau ap Aur t Dauid Vaghan ap Dd ap Wele Meura tenent med t v ptem de Wele Kennyngh ap Pithle ap Reddo de Tunge tmio poco ij d ob adinuicem t cela luicia Pythle. ut px Wele pcedens Et va ps t xa ps istius ville sunt escaet [p. 92.] đni Unde respondet inferius cum cetis escaetis.

Kennyg

non h; domā Hoel ap Dauid ap Doyoke Med ap Lt ap Meiller non h3 domū non h3 domū Cad ap Wylhym ap Cad & Griffuth ap Ioz ap Ken tenent Wele med t quintam ptem Wele Cad ap Pythle reddo de Tunge Pythle. adinuicem tmīo pdco iij dob t ceta suicia ut px Wele pcedens Et va ps t xa ps istius Wele sūt escaet dni ut supa. Unde respondet cum celis escaetis inferius.

habet domū Dauid Loyt ap Lauwargh ? Tuder ap Griff ap Grono tenēt medietatem t quintam ptem de Wele Edeñ ap Pythle reddo de Tunge adinuicem tmio pdco .iij. d ob Et ceta Wele Suicia ut alia lecta pcedent t tantam pporcoem escaet h3 dñs in ia Wele st in px Wele pced.

Eden ap Pythle.

Wele Rissard

Dauid ap Griff ap Ienn^af tenet med t quintam ptem de Wele Rissard ap Pythle Reddendo de Tunge tmīo pdc̃o .iij. d ot et ceta suic̃ ut sup^a t v^a ps t x^a ps istius Wele est esc̃ dni unde respondet^r inferius cū aliis escaete t c̃.

ap Pythle.

h; domū Grono ap Ieu^an Gocħ ap Dehewynd Dauid fra? eius et ñ h; domū

Wele Genythlyn ap Pythle.

Madoke ap Meura ap Heylin ten med t quintam ptem de Wele Genythlyn ap Pithle reddo de Tunge tmio Oïm Scoz. iij. d ob Et cela suic ut supa t va ps t xa ps sunt esc dni unde respondet inferius cū aliis escaete t c.

[p. 100.]

De pastu Princ nichil hic neq de pastu famut Princ neq de aliis past q omes tenentes istius ville faciunt his. Suic in aliis villis ut patet sris in siglis locis t villatis p se.

Et sci^d q̃d ppars dni in Prees de escaet̃ mortuoz cont^a pacem . si ver̃ t directe pporc̃one^r continebit in tris boscis

t vastis in uniuso iij lxj acr xxvij ptic.

Et deinde diùsi podar de Lewenny. Astret Canon. Wennennok Canon. Beryn. Talabryn t aliunde habent p eoz excamb loco patimōioz suoz in diùsis villatis ab eis captis tempe Comit Lincol —Decelxxix acr t xxv ptic terre t vasti. Et de residuo r inferio.

APPENDIX Bd.

Extents of the Villatæ of Dennant, Grugor, Quilbreyn, Pennaualeth, Penglogor, Hendreuennyth, Prestelegot, and Petrual, where the Progenies of Rand Vaghan ap Asser held.

Rewaynoke Ughalet.

Extenta Commoti de Ughalet facta anno regni Regis Ed- APP. Bd. wardi tcii post conquestum viijuo. A.D.

Dñs nichil habebit in dnico in Comoto de Ughalet 1335. nisi escaetas de forisfcuris tenencium qui insurrex unt in [p. 152.] guerris t obierunt conta pacem aut de tris fugitiuoz aut alioz tenenciū qui reliquerunt ten sua in man dni p defcu releu vel aliquoz suicioz put inferi9 patebit in singut vilt seu loce ubi aliquales his escaet prinent dno.

Et sciend est que dam pgeies liber tenenc in isto [p. 154.] Comoto que vocatr pgenies Rand Vagh ap Asser que quidem pgenies tenent in diuse villis istius Comoti et tenuer tempe Princip an conquestum vidett totam villatam de Dennants totam villam de Grugor . totam villam de Quilbrevn . totam villam de Penplogor I totam villam de Pennauelet . mediet ville de Hendreuennyth . tciam ptem ville de Prestegot tciam decimam ptem ville de Petual . Et omes illas villat t pcelt villataz pdictaz tenuerunt in quatuor lectis vidett Wele Ruathlon ap Rand Wele Idenerth ap Rand Wele Daniel ap Rand & Wele Kewret ap Rand unde primu Wele divisum est [p. 155.] in quatuor gauelt videlic; Gauel Guyon ap Ruathlon Gauel

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Bleth ap Ruath! Gauel Kewret ap Ruathlon 't gauel Madoke ap Ruathlon. Schm Wele dividit in quatuor gauel! vid!; gauel ap Ioz ap Idenerth gauel Madoc ap Idenerth gauel Allot ap Idenerth 't Gauel ap Tegwarat ap Idenerth. Leiu Wele dividit in duas gauel! v; gauel Eign ap Daniel gau! Cad ap Daniel Et quartum lectu quod est ultimu dividit in ij gauel! videl; gauel! Griff ap Kewret 't gauel Kenewreke ap Kewret. Et sequit de pporc tenur 't suic cuius! Wele 't cuius! t eius gauel! in singu! villate seriatim p se 't de pporc esc dni in singlis lece 't gauel! schm ut statim patebit in poste.

Villata de Dennante.

Ken ap Bleth Vaghan Ioz ap Lewelyn ap Bleth Ken. ap Lewelyn ap Bleth Ken. ap Bleth Loyd & Howel ap Bleth Loid tenent in se duas gauelt de primo lecto integro v3 gauelt Guyon ap Rauthlon & gauelt Bleth ap Rauthlon & reddunt in se de Tunge adinuicem & mīo Oïm Scoz .ij s. viij d qa. v3. xij d in Dennant .v. d ob qa in Grugor .v. d in Quilbreyn. j d ob qa in Penplogor j. d ob qa in Pennaualet. iij d in Hendreuennyth. ij d ob in Prestlegot & ob qa in Petrual. Reddunt eciam adinuicē p pastu Princ p annū p omīb3 villis pdcis vj s. ad Natat Dni. ij s mīo Medie xlme.xvj. d. mīo Naī sci Iohis Bapte.xvj d et mīo Exalī sce Cruce.xvj d. Et fac alia suicia in coi cum aliis libis de Commoto que patebunt inferius in fine Cōmoti.

[p. 156.]

Bleth ap Yeuan ap Madok tenet leiam gauelt eiusdem lecti integr. Reddo de Tunge lmïo Oīm Scoz xvj. d. Vidett vj. d in Dennant ij d ob qa in Grugor ij d ob in Quilbreyn. ob qa in Penplogor. ob qa dī in Pennaualet j d ob in Hendreuennyth j d qa in Prestlegot t qa dī in Petrual. Reddit t p pastu Princ p annū ij. s iij d ad quatuor lmīos pdict Unde ad Natat Dni ix d. t quott alio lmīo vj d. Et fac alia suic cum aliis liber in cõi ut infra.

Ioş ap Dd ap Mað Keñ ap Bletћ ap Grono . Ken . ap Ioз Арр. Вd. ap Tuder Eden . ap Lauwar ap Tuder 7 Bleth frat eius tenent totam quartam gauelt eiusdem lecti pt inde xvj. ptem que est escat dni t. r. de Tunge adinuicem Emio Oim Scoz .xv. d. Uñ v. đ ob qa in Dennant j. đ ob qa in Grugor ij đ ob in Quilbreyn . ot qa in Penplogor . ot qa di in Pennaualet .j. d . ob in Hendreuennyth .j. d ob in Prestlegot & qa di in Petrual . Et p pastu Princip p am vij. š .vj. đ . ad quatuor Pmīos pdcos Vidett ad Natat Dni ij. 3 .vj. d . 1 quott alio imio .xx. d . 1 ceta suic cum aliis in coi ut infra.

Eigh Loid ap Ioz Grugor ap Bleth Routh fr eius 7 Ioz frat eius tenent primam gauelt scdi lecti que quidem gau vocatr gauelt Ioz ap Idenerth integr . reddendo de Tunge Pmio Oim Scoz xvj. d . Unde .vj. d . in Dennant ij d ob qa in Grugor ij. đ ob in Quilbreyn . ob qa in Penplogor . ob qa dĩ in Pennaualet .j. đ ob in Hendreuennyth .j đ qa in Prestlegot t qa dî in Petrual . t p pastu Princ .vij s .j. d . ad quatuor Pmīos pdcos. Unde ad Festum Natat Dni ij. 3 .iiij d. 4 quott alio tmīo .xix đ t ceta suic cū at in cõi ut infa.

Et pdci Eign Loid & Bleth & Ioz fres eis tenent ij pr scde gauelt eiusdem lecti que vocatr Gaut Madoke ap Idenerth [p. 157.] reddo de Tunge tmīo Oim Scoz .x. d . ob . Unde .iij. d qa in Dennant .ij d in Grugor .ij d in Quilbreyn ob in Penglogor . qª in Pennaualet .j d qª in Hendreuennyth j d qª in Prestlegot t qa in Petrual. Et p pastu Princip p annū .xv. đ ob ad quatuor emīos pdcos Unde ad Nat Dni .v. d . t quott alio Pmio .iij. d ob . Et ceta suic in coi ut infra.

Bleth ap Ken ap Madoke tenet medier tcie ptis einsdem gauelt reddo de Tunge tmio Oim Scoz jed . ob qa . Unde ob in Dennant . qa in Grugor . qa in Quilbreyn . di qa in Penplogor . di qa in Pennaualet . qa in Hendreuennyth qa in Prestlegot 7 nichil in Petrual. Et p pastu Princ p annu ij. đ ob ad quatuor tmīos pdictos vidett ad Nat Dni .j. đ . t quott alio tmīo ot t ceta suicia ut infra . Et alta mediet A.D. 1335.

APP. Bd. eiusdem feie ptis gauelt est escaet dni ft tenet in acr cum

A.D. cetis escaet inferius.

1335.

Item Flore Platt on Wei an Med I Finan Wei

Item pdcus Bleth ap Ken ap Mad & Eign ap Yeuan ap Ioz. Eignon ap Mad ap Ieuan & Dauid ap Heilyn ap Ioz tenent quartam ptem cie gauelt que vocat gauelt Allet ap Idenerth. reddo de Tunge .iiij. & mio Oim Scoz Uñ.j. & qa in Dennant. ob qa in Grugor. ob qa in Quilbreyn. di qa in Penplogor. di qa in Pennaualet. qa in Hendreuennyth. ob in Prestlegot & qa in Petrual. Et p pastu Princ p am ij s ob ad quatuor mios pdcos. Unde ad Natat Dni.viij. & quott alio mio.v. d ob & ceta suic cum aliis in coi ut infa. Et.iij. pte eiusdem gavelt sunt esc dni uñ ra infa acc inferis.

Bleyth ap Eigñ Voil ap Ioz tenet ij. př quarte gauelt eiusdem lecti que vocat gauel Tegwaret ap Idenerth reddendo de Tung¢ .x. đ oð qª . Unde .iij. đ qª in Dennant .j. đ oð qª in Grugor .ij đ in Quilbreyn . oð in Penplogor . qª in Pennaualet .j. đ qª in Hendreuennyth .j. đ oð in Prestlegot t qª in Petrual . Et p past Princ p annū .v. š .ix. đ . ad quatuor tmīos pdcos . Vidett ad Natat Dni .xxij. đ . oð t quott alio tmīo .xv. đ oð . Et ceta suicia in cõi ut infra . Et tcia ps istius gauelt est escaet đni t r inde int tr inferius.

Ioz ap Ieuan ap Keneuth. Tuder fr eius. Yeuan ap Edeñ ap Mad. Ken. frat eius. Griffith ap Tuder ap Mad. Edeñ Grono t Yenaf fres eius Ioz ap Eigñ ap Ioz Eignoñ Gogh ap Dd ap Eigñ. Ith t Ken. fres eius tenent septem ptes t. lxiiijta3 ptem prime gauelle tcii lecti. que quidem gauella vocatr gauel Eignoñ ap Danyel. reddo de Tunge tmīo Oim Scoz. ij. š. iiij. d ob Uñ. xj. d ob in Dennant. v. d qa in Grugor. v. d qa in Quilbreyn. j. d qa in Penplogor. j. d qa in Pennaualet. ij. d qa in Hendreuennyth. j. d in Prestlegot t ob qa in Petrual. Et p pastu Princ p annū. vij. š. v. d ad iiijor tmīos pdictos vidett ad Natat Dni. ij. š. v. d. t quott alio tmīo xx. d. Et ceta suic cum aliis in cõi

[p. 158.]

ut infra . Et .viija ps . eiusdem gauelt est esc dni pt inde App. Bd. viijam ptem . I respondet inde inferius inf firm acr I c. A.D.

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Item Dd ap Ioz ap Cadugan . Bleth ap Ioz Vaghan ap Ioz Grono ap Keneuth ap Ioz Mad frat eius Bleth ap Mad ap Ioz . Keñ frat eius Dauid ap Mad Duy ap Ioz t Mad Loyd frat eius tenent int [se] quartam ptem . t viijam ptem scde gauelle eiusdem lecti que vocat^r gauel Cad ap Danyel. reddo de Tunge Emīo Oim Scoz xij d . Unde .iiij. d in Dennant ij đ qa in Grugor ij đ qa in Quilbreyn . qa dĩ in Penglogor . qª dĩ in Pennaualet .j. đ in Hendreuennyth .j. đ in Prestlegot . tob in Petrual. Et p past Princ p annū .iij. s .ij. đ qa ad [p. 159.] .iiij. tmīos pdcos vidett ad Natat Dni .xij. d . ob qa . et quott alio tmīo .viij. d ob t ceta suicia in coi cum aliis infra . Et medit eiusdem gauelt est esc dni t respondet inde inferius int firm acr . Et .viija ps eiusdem gauelt est in man dni a tempe Comite Lincoln que fuit Ken ap M' dith ap Ioz qui utlagat fuit p felon t c . Et allocatr illa ps filiis Yeuan ap Lauwargh libo de Lewenny in excamb p hereditar sua ibm.

Item de quarto lecto quod diuiditr in duas gauelt . prima gauelt que vocatr Gauelt Griffri ap Keuret est penit' in mañ dni t pur Esc t respondet inde inferius int firmas acraz.

Item Ken ap Lauwar ap Ken. Caduc t Yeuan fres eius tenent quinq, ptes scde gauelle eiusdem lecti que vocatr gauel Ken ap Keuret . reddo de Tunge fmio Oim Scoz .ij s iij d . ob qa . Unde .x. d ob in Dennant .v. d qa in Grugor .v. đ qa in Quilbreyn . ot dĩ qa in Penglogor . ot qa in Pennaualet j. d ob qa in Hendreuennyth ij d in Prestlegote t ob di qa in Petrual Et p pastu Princ p annū vij. š .x. đ . ad iiijor emīos pdcos vidett ad Natat Dni .ij & .vij d . 4 quott alio tmio .xxj d . t ceta suicia in coi cum aliis ut infra . Et vjta ps eiusdem gauelle est esc dni uñ r inferius int firmas acr.

Smª Tunge pgenieij Rand in diuse villat Commoti

APP. Bd. de Ughalet p annum Pmino Oïm Scoz xiiij. s.v. d ob qa.

De quibus extahendi sunt ab ista sma hic t ponend in aliis villatis put pbatr supius in pcelt singulaz gauellaz—ix s. j d ob qa.

ss Et sic restat Smª tocius Tunge villate de Dennant p annum—v. s .iiij. d.

Natał Dni . xvj š . viij d q^a

Međ xl^{me} . xj š . iij d ob

Princ in lmis

Natał Dni . xvj š . viij d q^a

Sic p a^m .l. š

Natał Dni . xvj š . iij d ob

Sic p a^m .l. š

Ex sce Cruce . xj š . iij d ob.

[p. 161.]

Wele

Rauthloñ ap

Rand.

Villata de Grugor.

Tota villata de Grugor que cont de tris t vastis .CCClviij. acr di t di rod consistit in tenur pgenieij Rand Bagh ap Asser in iiijor lecte ut p5 supius in Dennant et eoz suic plenius patent in pticlis supius in Dennant . Unde pgenies Rauthlon ap Rand quoz noïa inscribunt siïs in Dennant ten hic int se ut pat5 supius totu Wele Rauthlon ap Rand quod consistit in iiijor gauelt . reddendo de Tunge put pat3 ibm in pticlis .x. d . t nichil aliud hic q omia alia eoz suic inserunt in Dennant Et dñs nullam het escaet in isto Wele.

Wele Iderneth ap Rand. Item Wele Idenerth ap Rand quod consistit ptit in iiijor gauelt: pgēies pdicti Idenerth quoz noïa plenius patent in Dennant tenēt unam gauelt integr t quinq, ptes scde gauelt t quartam ptem teie gauelt t eciam duas ptes quarte gauelle. Reddendo de Tunge int se hic put plenio patet in pticlis sepate in Dennant vijd. ob t ceta suic in Dennant Et sic qai quarta ps t .xvja. ps istius Wele vel qai una gauella t quarta ps istius gauelle est escaet dni Unde respondet inferius t c.

Wele Daniel ap Rand. Item de Wele Danyel ap Rand quod consistit in ij gauelt : pgenies pdicti Danyel quoz noïa patent in Dennant tenent septem ptes prime gauelt t mediet scde gauelt Red-

dendo de Tunge put pat; in pticlis in Dennant .vij d ob. Et APP. Bd. ceta suic in Dennant. Et sic quarta ps 7 .xvja ps istius Wele aut mediet 't viija ps unis gauelt est esc dni Unde respondet inferius & c.

A.D.

1335.

Item de Wele Keuret ap Rand quod consistit in .ij. gauelt pgēies dicti Keuret quoz noïa patent in Dennant tenent quinque ptes istius gauelle . reddendo de Tunge put pat; in [p. 162.] ptici in Dennant .v. đ qa t ceta suic in Dennant Et sic med t vjta ps alfius medietate istius Wele aut eciam .j. gault, integr t vjta, ps altius gauelt sunt esc dni Un respondet infer.

Smª Tunge de Grugor .ij š .vj đ qª.

Et erit pporco escaete dni de tris bosce t vaste forisfcis in Grugor scam veram pporcoem .Cviij. acr j. rod t .xij. ptic De quib3 allocantr [&c]

Villata de Quilbrevn.

[p. 163.]

Et sciend qd tota villata de Quilbreyn consistit in tenura pgenieij Rand Vagh supius in quatuor lectis Et quodit lectū diuidit in tot gauellis it totidem pporcoib; it p easdem pporcões accidit escaeta dni sicut in Dennant vel Grugor supius . Et cont dca villata in tris bosce t vaste . Mt Clxviij. acr 7 .iij. rod unde sequit primo de suic viuoz 7 eoz tenur 7 postea de tr mortuoz conta pacem . que sunt escaeta dni t c.

Pgenies Rauthlon ap Rand quoz nõia patent in Dennant tenent totū Wele Rauthlon ap Rand in iiijor gauelt . reddendo de Tunge .x. d't ceta suic in Dennant Et nulla est escaeta

in isto Wele.

Item pgenies Idenerth quoz noïa patent in Dennant tenent qai medietatem i .iij. ptes quarte ptis de Wele pdči Idenerth quod ptitr in .iiijor. gauellis . reddendo de Tunge int se vij d ob 7 ceta suic in Dennant . Et sic quarta ps istius Wele 7 quarta ps altius quarte ptis eiusdem sūt esc dni . Un re inferius.

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Item pgenies Danyel ap Rand quoz noïa patent in Dennant tenent mediet t iij ptes quarte ptis istius Wele. reddo de Tunge hic vij d ob t cela suic in Dennant. Et iiij ps t.xvj. ps istius Wele est esc dni Unde respondet inferius.

Item pgenies Keuret ap Rand quoz noĩa patent in Dennant tenent v; . ptes medietatis istius Wele reddendo de Tunge hic .v. đ qa 't cefa suic in Dennant Et sic mediet t vjta ps alfius medietatis istius Wele est escael đni . Unde respondet inferius.

Smª Tunge de Quilbreyn êmīo Oïm Sc̃oz .ij š vj đ qª.

[p. 164.] Et est ppars dni in villa de Quilbreyn .CCCliij. acr .ix. ptic di que appruant inferius.

Villata de Pennaualeth.

.С

[p. 165.] Villata de Pennaualet que cont in tr bosc t vaste .vij lj acr di consistit in omib; porcoib; in tenura pgenieij Rand ap Asser Et in tot lecte t tot gauelt sicut px villar pcedens de Quilbreyn Et omes Pdar qui tenent in Dennant t Grugor t Quilbreyn tenent hic in quatuor lectis ut ibi Et redd de Tunge int se p annu tmio Oim Scoz .vij dob . Unde Priodar de Wele Rauthlon ap Rand .iij dob . Pdodar de Wele Idenerth ap Rand .j dob t di qa . Priodar de Wele Daniel ap Rand .j dob t di qa t Priodar de Wele Keuret ap Rand .ob qa . Et ceta suic in Dennant Et sunt escaet dni hic qai unu Wele t viija ps t xija ps istius Wele que continent quartam ptem t xxxijdam ptem t xlviijam ptem istius ville.

ss Smª Tunge de Pennaualet Pmīo Oïm Sc̃oz . vij d ob.

Et sic est porco escaet dni in villa de Pennaualet scdm pticipacoem directam .CCxxvij. acr .ij. ptic di.

D quib; allocant^r diùse Priodar de Arquedloke Hanodreghhaith in excamb p eoz i ibm .Cxlviij aer di Et xv aer tre arentant^r ut patebit inferius.

¹ So in the MS.

Villata de Penglogor.

Tota villata de Penglogor consistit in tenura pdce pgen Rand ap Asser in tot lecte sicut pxª villata pcedens. Et iidem qui tenent villat de Dennant. Grugor. Quilbreyn. et Pennaualet tenent int se totam istam villatam pt porcõem escaet dni ut pat; inferius t reddunt per annu de Tunge tmīo Oīm Scoz vij d ob. Unde Preodat de Wele Ruathlon ap Rand.iij d qª. Priodat de Wele Idenerth ap Rand ij. d. Priodat de Wele Daniel ap Rand.ij d ob dī qª t Priodat de Wele Keuret ap Rand ob t dī qª. Et facient ceta suic in Dennant. Et quarta ps t.xxxijda. ps t xlviija ps istius ville est escaet dni un re inferius.

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šs Smª Tunge villate de Penglogor p ann tio Oim Scoz—vijd ob.

Et cont tota villata de Penglogor .Cxxviij. acr Et inde ppars escaet dni cont de tre l' vaste . l' c .xxxviij. acr di l' xxvj ptic dimid.

Villata de Hendreuennyth.

[p. 167.]

Villata de Hendreuennyth cont in tris vasté. CCix acr iij. rot cuius mediet consistit in tenura pgeii Rand Vaghan supius in .iiij^{or}. lecté 't alia mediet est de tenura pgenieij Rees Gogh in .j^o. lecto . Unde primo sequit^r de pparte prima t .ij^{do}. de ij^{da}.

D mediet villate de Hendreuennyth que consistit in pgenie Rand Eadem pgenies tenet medietatem illam pt inde escaet ut patebit inpostez in tot lecte tot gauelt put tenent in Dennant vel aliis villatis pdicte Et reddunt de Tunge int se put patet p pticlas specificatas sro in Dennant .xv d ob . Et fac ceta suic in Dennant t c. Et reddidit ista medietas de Tunge p annu dum fuit integr in man pdici pgen .xx. d.

ss Smª Tunge pgen Rand Vagh hic-xv & ob.

Villata de Prestelegot?.

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[p. 169.]

Villata de Prestlegote que uniusalie cont; .DCxxx. acr ere bosc et vast fuit ptit in .iij. ptes . Uñ pima ecia ps consistit in tenura pgeniei Rand Vagh et reddidi illa ecia ps du fuit intega in tenura illius pgeiei .xx. d . p annu . Et alia ecia ps consistit in tenura pgeiei Idenerth que sitr du fuit integr e de Tunge .xx. d . Et ulta ecia ps fuit in tenura pgeiei Keneuerch ap Maer et c . que sitr e de Tunge du fuit integr .xx. d . p annu . Et oms ede pgen sut lite . Uñ seqr distincto pimo de pima pgeie . scdo de scda . eto de etia.

Ppars pgēiei Ranđ Vagħ. Pgeñ Rand Vagh quoz noïa patent in Dennant ti hic in .iiij. lec pimā ppartem istius ville. Vidit iciam ptem except inde .iiijita. pte i .xxxijita. pte ixxxxijita pte que sut escaet dni rone mortuoz conta pacem. Et reddut pic Priodar nuc de Tung in se p annu io Oïm Scoz put p; p pcelt distinci in Dennant .xiiij. d qa. Et ni aliud hic q in Dennant supius.

[p. 171.]

ss Smª Tunge de Prestlegote .iij s .ij đ.

Et sci^d q^d de pⁱma l'cia pte villate de Prestlegot que est de tenura pgēiei Rand Vagh ptinent dno de escael l c . scdam l veram pticipacom de l'ris bosc l vast l'xiij acr di .j. rod di l x. ptic.

Distincto escaete.

Itm de ij^{da}, pparte eiusdm ville que est de tenura triū lector Madokę ap Idehth. Heilyn ap Idehth t Eigñ ap Idehth ptinent dno de escaet Cj. act di t iiij, ptic tre bosc t vast.

Itm de ultia pparte eiusdm ville que est de tenura Keneulth ap Maer t Res ap Hunyth ptinēt dno eodm mo .lxxij. acr .j. rod dī t .x. ptic . Et sic est sma tocius escaet

¹ So in the MS.

ij. xxvij. acr .j. rođ dĩ t .iiij. ptic que app^uant^r ut statī pateb^t īposterū.

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Villata de Petrual.

[p. 180.]

Villata de Petrual que cont; .M[†].C.lxx acr . consistit in .xiij. lectis liboş de quib; statim patebit in posterū . Vidit de quoit lecto p se.

Priodar de pgēie Rand Vagh quoz noia patent in Dennant tenent hic tantam ptem in .iiij. lect qantam tenent srius in Dennant. în tenent hic qai p uno lecto quod vocata Wele Wiryon Rand. ciam deciam ptem istius ville. Reddo de Tunge hic put p3 in pticlis specificate in Dennant .iiij. d. ob mio oim Scoz. In aliud hic quia omia alia eoz suic onant srius in Dennant. Et qauis reddant hic plenu Tunge : nto quarta ps l.xxxija. ps l.xlviija. ps istius lecti hic est escaet dni. sic de eoz tenura in aliis villis. Et iñ rndet inferius cu ceteris escaete l c.

Wele Wyrion Rand.

APPENDIX Be.

Extent of the Villata of Wickwere with the Hamlets of Boydroghyn and Kilmayl, in which the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk held.

Roos Ysdulas.

App. Be. Extenta Cōmot de Roos Ysdulas fca aº. Rege Ee iijeii. pº cōq̃ .viijº.

Science qd dñs nichil fiebit de veli dõico nūc in đnico suo [p. 201.] ni Maneriū de Dynnorbyn Vaur quod extendit in serie Cōmoč cū villat de Dynnorbyn Vaur ut inferi patebit in suo cursu t c̃.

Villata de Wyckewere cũ suis Hamellis de Boydrogbyn t Kilmayl.

Villata de Wyckwere cũ Hamelt de Boydroghyn t Kylmayl consistebat tempib; Pincipũ ante conquestũ in octo lectis. Unde .vj. lect fuerūt in õib; locis pdčis vidtt in Wyckewere Boydroghyn t Kylmayl. Et de hiis .vj. lecte unū lectū fuit penit in tenura libo; quod vocat Wele Lauwargh ap Kendelyke. Secundū lectu consistit vidtt due ptes in tenura libo; t tcia ps in tenura Natīo; quod lectū vocat Wele Morythe.

T')ciū lectū consistit vid3 due ptes in tenura liboz t cia ps in tenura Natioz quod quidē lectū vocat' Wele Peidyth Mogh.

Ceta tria lecta de pdcis .vj. lectis fuerunt integre in tenura Natioz . Unde pimu lectu vocat Wele Breynte . Secundu lectu vocat Wele Meynon et ciu vocat Wele Bothloyn I duo ultia lecta de pdcis .viij. lectis : fuerunt tantumodo

in villa de Boydroghyn t consistut pēit9 in tenura Natioz . Unde pimū lectū vor Wele Anergh Cuyrdyon, et scam lectū vocatr Wele Thlowthon . Unde sequitr de quott lecto Siatim scam ad Pmittitr t de noib; inde tenent cu eoz suic t deinde de porcoibs dni que sibi attingunt ptim rone tenenciu morienciū conta pacem, ptim p defcu suicios ptī p defcu heredū in teio gadu vl infra teiu gadu t c.

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De pimo lecto quod consistit tolit in tenura liboz t quod est in omib; vilt 't hamelt fuunt tria lecta seu tres gauelle vidtt Wele Risshard ap Lauwargh . Wele Moridyke ap Lawh et Wele Kandalo ap Lauwargh, et sequitr pimo: de primo, scdo : de scdo, teio : de teio t c.

De Wele Risshard ap Lauwargh funt tres gauelt, vidtt gauelt Madoke ap Risshard gauelt Kendalo ap Risshard ? Gauelt Ken ap Risshard.

Gronou ap Madoke Vaghan . Eynon Routh fr eius Heilyn [p. 202.] ap Eynon ap Risshard. Heilyn ap Groñ ap Eynon Bleth ? Ithel free eius I Heilyn ap Eynon Gogh tenent gauelt Madoke Gauelt ap Risshard integr reddo de Tunge int se p am. tio oim Scoz Madok .viij. d . Et p past Pincipis ad Nat Dni .xij. d . Med .xle. vj. d Et ad fm Nat Sci Iohis Bapt .vij. d . ob . Et ad fm Exaltacois sce Crucis .vj. d . Et facient ceta suicia cu aliis libis istius Comot in coi de quib; patebit in fin istis Comot int coes consuet t c.

ap Riss-

Madoke ap Heilyn ap Howel . Ithel ap Ioz ap Kendalo Griff ? Tuder fres eius . Dauid ap Kendalo ap Ioz . Dauid Vaghan ap Dauid ap Ioz & Tuder fr eius tenent gauelt Kendalo Kendalo ap Risshard integr reddo int se de Tunge tio pdco .v. d ob . Et ceta suic in oib; ut Gauelt px pcedens.

ap Riss-

Ken Vaghan ap Ken ap Madoke . Eyron fr eius . Ioz ap Madoke ap Ioz Iu fr eins . Danid Loyd ap Kendalo . Ioz fr eius . Mad ap Ken ap Eynon . Dauid & In fres eius . Madoke ap Dauid ap Eynon . Ada 7 Dauid fres eius 7 pdcus Heilyn ap Eynon ap Risshard & nepotes sui supius in gauelt Madoke

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Gauelt

Keñ ap

Riss-

hard.

tenent tres ptes gauelt Keñ ap Risshard reddo in les de Tunge l'îo pdco.vj. d. Et p past Pincipis p am. ad Nat Dni.ix. d. l'îc Med.xle.iiij. dob. lio Nat sci Iohis Bapte.v. dob qa. Et l'îo Exalt sce Crucis.iiij. d. ob. Et facient cela suicia in coi ut supa. Et qarta ps istius gauelt est escaeta dni. Unde rebit inferius cu celis escaetis.

Wele vel Gauelt Moridyk ad Lauwargh. Itm de scdo Wele quod est extractu de Wele Lauwargh ap Kendalyke et quod supius nucupat Wele Moridyke ap Lauwargh nulla extahit gauelt ideo dicit id idem Wele nisi ut una gauelt unde Kendalo ap Madoke ap Eynon. Eynon ap Groñ ap Griff. Lauwargh fr eius. Ioz ap Lauwargh ap Griff t Madoke ap Heylyn ap Griff tenent gauelt Moridyke ap Lauwargh integr r de Tung int se .xij. d .ob .qa . Et p past Pincipis ad Nat Dni .xij. d .scdo tio vj. d . teio tio .vij. d .ob . Quarto tio .vj. d . Et facient ceta suicia in coi ut supa.

Iı̃m de tcio Wele exacto de Wele Lauwargh ap Kendelyk fiunt due gauelt vidtt Gauella Ioz ap Kendalo t Gauelt Dauid ap Kendalo que dr Gauelt Kyloen ut statim subsequit.

Gaũ Ioẓ ap Kendalo. Groñ ap Eynon ap Madoke. Eynon ap Ioz t Iua fres eius t Heilyn ap Eynon ap Howel tenent gauelt Ioz ap Kendalo integr reddo de Tunge int se tio pdco.viij. t. Et p past Pincipis p am ad Nat Dni t quott ao tio.

Gaû Kyloen Iĩm Ithel ap Eynon ap Kendalo ${}^{\circ}$ Phelip fr ei $^{\circ}$ tenent .vjtā. ptem gauelie Kyloen redđo de Tung ${}^{\circ}$ Pio pd ${}^{\circ}$ 0.j. d. ob. Et p past Pincipis p a m . pimo Pio .ij. d. scdo Pio .j. d q a . ${}^{\circ}$ 1 q a rto 1 1 Pio .j. d. Et fac alia Suic in coi ut sup a Et. v q 2. ptes isti $^{\circ}$ 9 gaueli suut escae ${}^{\circ}$ dni. Unde rindebit inferius ${}^{\circ}$ 6.

Pporco liboz de Wele Moroyth. De duab; ptib; scdi lecti quod vocat^r Wele Moroythe. quod est in villa de Wickewere & hamelt de Kilmayl & Boydroghyn sunt q^atuor vidtt due gauelt Meiller ap Morroyth & due gauelt Lauwargh ap Morroyth. Et de Pcia pte isti^s lecti que est in tenura Natioz rndet^r inferi^s i Natios & c.

¹ So in the MS.

Ioz ap Evnon ap Ienaf tenet fciā ptē. jo gauelt Meiller ap Morrovth . r . de Tunge tio pdco .iiij. d . ob . Et p past Pincipis p am. vidit pimo tio .iiij. d . Secundo tio .ij. d . tcio tio .ij. d . ob . qarto tio .j. t . Et fac ceta suic in coi ut supa Et una gauelt integr t .ije. ptes de .ijb. gauelt pdcis sunt escaet dni Unde rnder inferius.

ije gauelt Meiller ap Morovth. [p. 203.] Gañ Eynon ap Lauwargh

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Evnon ap Kendalo ap Ken Pithle 7 Ioz fr eius tenent medietate unius gauelt que fuit Lauwargh ap Moroythe . r . de Tung tio pdco .vj. d . qa . Et p pastu Pincipis pimo tio Thleth. .vi. d . Scdo tio .iij. d . teio tio .iij. d . ob qa t arto tio .iij. d . Et cela suicia ut supa Et alta med eiusdm gauelle est escaeta dni Unde rndebit inferius.

Rees ap Meiller ap Heilyn . Gron 7 Lt fres eius . Meiller ap Ioz ap Heilyn Dauid Gronou ? Ioz fres eius . Gau Ioz Meiller ap Lewet ap Heilyn Evnon & Medyth fres eius Iu ap Ioz ap Lauwargh & Dauid fr eius tenent medietate gauell Ioz ap Lauwargh . ř . de Tung tío pdco .vij. đ . Et p pastu Pincipis ad quemtt tminū sicut pxa gauelt pcedens. Et alta me-

ap Lauwargh.

De duab; ptib; Wele quod vocatr Pidrith Mough no fit ni una gauelt liboz unde statim subsequitr. Et de tcia pte eiusdem Wele que costitit in tenura Natioz unde rndebitr inferius int Natios scdo.

dietas eiusdem gauelt est escaeta dui. Unde rndebit inferius.

Pporco liboz de Wele Pridith Mough.

Ienaf map Ithel ap Madok . Ririth & Gurg fres eius . Gron Vaghan ap Gron ap Madok . Gron ap Ioz Loyd . Ioz ap Ririth ap Gron . Meiller ap Rees . Gron 7 Ieu fres eius . Gau Ioz ap Lauwargh ap Pithle . Dauid & Ririth fres eius tenent .vij. ptes gauelt Pridith Mough . r . de Tunge tio pdco .xxiij. d. ob . qa . Et p past Pincipis pimo tio .x. d . ob . Scdo tio .v. d . q . teio tio .vj. d . ot . q . Quarto tio .v. d . qª. Et ceta suic in coi ut supª. Et .viija. ps eiusdm gauell est escaet dni . Un rndet inferius t c.

Mough.

Smª Tunge libor de Wickewere p am tão Oim Scoz .vj. 3 .xjd. qa.

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Natini

vij. § .j. d ob.) /Nat Dni iij. š vj. đ ob qa Sc p am xviijs. Sma pasts Pin- Med xle Nat sci Iohis iiij. s.v. d. ob qa cip tis viijd. ob qa. Exaltsce Cucisiij. s.vj. d.obqa)

De Pcia pte Wele Moroythe que fuit in tenura Natioz ut supa nullus remansit tenens viuus s3 est pēitus escaet dni racone mortuoz conta pacem Et respondet inferius cu celis escaetis 7 c.

nō ħent domū Eynon ap Kendalo ap Madok . Ieu 't Heilyn fres eius tenent medietate ?cie ptis de Wele Pridith Mough. r. de Tunge p am tmīo pdco .vi. đ . qa . Et isti cū aliis parib3 suis inferius 7 cū Natis de Dynhengryn inferius reddent adinuicem p past famit Pincip in coi .viij. & .j. d . ob ad .iiijor. Pios supadcos vidit ad Nat Dni .ij. 3 Međ xle .ij. 3 . Nat sci Iohis Bapte ij. § . Et ad festū Exalt sce Crucis .ij. § .j. d . ob . Et colligit^r ille pastus p catalt et iidm Natiui reddunt p a^m p pastu equi Ragloti in coi ad fm Exalt sce Crucis .xiiij. d ob . qui quidem pastus colligita int eos p catalt t c . Et iidm Natiui cū illis de Dynhengrevn reddent adinuicem p am p pastu dextar t garcois ad tminu pdcm .viij. 3 .iiij. đ. t p constructione Molend de Bragot .iij. s p am ad Pmios Pent T sci Michis qui carcant cu Molend pdco Et p etctoe pposit p am ad fm exalt Sce Crucis .x. 8 . Et quilt istoz Natioz hens domū dabit .j. galf ad Nat Dni vl .j. a . Et accidit scam mag vel min⁵ put ptres eoz habuerunt domos vl pauciores Et quitt eoz siue domū huerit siue non . siue ptit fuit int cões consuetudies in fine istius Comoti Et alla medietatas 1 lcie ptis eiusdē Wele est escaeta đni unde rndetr inferius.

[p. 204.]

Wele

Both-

leyn.

Brento. Wele

Ppars.

Wele Pridith

natioz de

Mough.

Itm fuit ibi unu lectu Natioz quod vocate Wele Breynte. et aliud Natioz quod vocatr Wele Bothleyn Et sunt illa duo lecta integr escaet dni unde respondet inferius cu aliis escaete 7 c.

¹ So in the MS.

ni te; adhuc ut dr no ht domū s; het domū Madok ap Ioz . Wilt t Ioz Wynene fr eius Ioz Cam ap het domū est try diffye Madok ap Willym Dauid ap Ithel ap Willym & Madok ap Ithel ap Groñ tenent qarta ptem de Wele Moynou. r de Tunge int se tio pdco .ix. d . ob . Et ceta suicia fac in omib; ut Nafi de Wele supius Pridith Mough Et tres ptes istius Wele sunt escaeta dni Unde rndetr inferius.

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Wele Moynou.

Itm de duob; lectis Natioz que sunt penit⁹ in Boydroghyn ut supa t nichil in aliis villis . pimū lectū quod vocatr Wele Wele Anergh Cuyr Duyon est pēit9 escaeta dni vidtt medietas inde racone mortuoz conta pace. Et alla medietas est tyrdiffyc in Duyon. man dni p defcu suic Et inde respondet inferius cu cetis escaetis 7 c.

Et scam lectu quod vocatr Wele Thleytheu t quod sitr est penit9 in Boydroghyn diuiditr in qatuor gauelt Unde statim subsequitr de qott gau p se.

De pima gauelt istis lecti que vocate gauelt Pridith bolgh Wele que solebat reddere de Tunge .ix. d . Et p .iij. vasis butir Pridith .x. 3. nullus remansit tenens s3 est integr escaeta dni unde rndetr inferius 7 c.

no ht domū no ht domū Eynon Voyl ap Eynon ap Gron . Dauid Loyd ap Ph ap no het dom no ht dom Dauid Ken Duy ap Cadogan ap Heilyn & Kendalo ap Gron tenent medietatem gauelt map Gurnewyth . r . de Tunge tio pdco .iiij. d . ob . Et p .j. vase di butir .v. s . eodm tio Et ceta suicia in coi t c . Et isti tenentes dicunt qd no soluut gallinas neq, p opib; autūpnalib; eo qd nullus eoz sedet sup fram in quitt fram tenens sine sederit sup fram sine no: dabit p opibus autūpnalib; šedm dem alioz Natioz supius p .iij. dietis messionis .iiija. ob . in nit inde hic q3 in gauelt Gourne-Ken Duy inferius Et debent isti de iure cenari ad domū sup with. tram suā construendā simul cū emib; aliis Natis domos no hentib; si habeant unde . Ideo 7 c . Et alfa medietas isti9 gauelt est escaeta dni unde respondet inferius 7 c.

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Gaũ Bryn pridan.

Iîm Ien ap Madoke ap Geinthlyn tenet .ixam. ptem eiusdem gauelt . r . de Tunge .j. d . Et p .iiijta. pte t .viija. pte .jo. vasis butir .xv. d . eodē tmīo . Et fac at suicia ut supa Et sic medietas t ixa. ps altius medietatis sūt escaet dni unde rīndet inferius t c.

Iếm Pdči Eynon Voyl ap Eynon . Dauid Loyd ap Ph .

Gaŭ Keñ Duy. [p. 205.] thet dom Ken Duy ap Cad t Kendalo ap Gron tenent teiam ptem t xviij^{am}. ptem gauelt Ken Duy. r. de Tunge tio pdco.iij. d. ob. Et p.j. vase t.viij^a. pte.j^c. vasis but eodm tio.iij. s ix. d. Et ceta suicia ut sup^a Et medietas t.ix^a. ps eiusd gauelt sunt escaet dni unde rndet inferius t.c.

Smª Tunge Natĭoz de Wickewere t Boydroghyn p aª. tĩo Omniū Sčoz .ij. š .iij. đ . ob . qª . Unde .ij. đ diffyke.

Sma gallinaz ad Nat Dni ut nūc .viij. galliñ pc .viij. đ. Sma opū autūpnaliū ut nūc .xlij. opa pc .v. s .vj. đ.

Sma butir p am. Pio Oim Scoz ut nūc .iiij. vas pc .xiij. s .iiij. đ.

De aliis pastib; nichil assūmant hic : quia in fine Cōmot ? c.

inuer⁹ mēdosus, forte.

Distincto escact.

Et scient qd villata de Wickewere cont; in tris boscis trastis. Mtlxxij. acr .iij. rod t di . Hamelt de Kilmayl cont; in omib; .Clx. acr t di . Hamelt de Boydroghyn cont; .M CCCxl. acr tre bosci trast unde Sma in uniuso MtDlxxiij. acr .j. rod . di . Et inde erit ppars escact dni scdm veram pporcoem MtDCxxxviij acr .j. rod di t c . De quib; allocant diusis podariis de Lewenny t Astrete Canon in excambio p eoz prioniis in dcis vilt t c . quedam pporcoes diusoz tenenciū

¹ So in MS.

in Wickewere qui obierut conta pacem quoz pporcões debent contiere .Clxxv. acr .iij. rođ tre bosc t vast . Et sic supsunt de ppte dni in Wickewere . Kilmayl & Boydroghyn Miccoclini, acr di i di rod tre bosc i vast que appuant ut patet inferius . Primo in Wickewere postea in Kilmavl ? deinde in Boydroghyn.

APP. Be. A.D. 1335.

Hugo de Hulton tenet in Wickewere medietate .jo. bouat Bouat de Pre contin .v. acr fre que solebant poni in rentli in villat de Lewenny p quib; solebat reddere p am .xx. d . ut patet in? bouar de Lewenny i nuc datr p carta dni tenentr quiete cu alia dimid bouat in Lewenny ptiñ ad Burg de Dynbeigh infra muros.

Lewel ap Eynon Cogh tenet .vj. acr j. rod tre de escaet Firm acr in Wickewere pc acr .vj. d . r . p am ad tios Pent t sci Michis .iij. š .j. đ . ob.

Wickewere.

Idm Lewel tenet .xx. acr tre unde .ij. acr pc acr .vj. d t xvij. acr pc acr .viij. d . r . p am tis pdcis .xij. s .iiij. d.

Ioz ap Eynon ap Yenaf tenet j. acr dî . pc acr .viij. d . r. P. Pdco .xij. đ.

Idm Ioz tenet .xij. acr .iij. rod di unde .ije. acr t di t di rođ pc acr .viij. đ t .x. acr .j. rođ pc acr .vj. đ . r . P pdicte .vj. § .x. d . ob.

Idm Ioz tenet .iij. acr di t .xxx. ptic Unde .j. acr t xxx ptic pc acr viij. đ t ij acr di pc acr vj đ . r . t . p .ij. s . oъ.

Et idm Ioz tenet .iiij. acr di fre pc acr viij d . r . f . p .iij. š.

Ithel Loyd ap Cadog tenet .xvj. acr .j. rođ Pre unde xiii aer di pc aer .iiij. d't ij. aer iij. rod pc aer .vj. d . r . p am . a. p. v. š.x. d ob.

Idm Ithel tenet .j. rod tre qua Evnon ap Dauid ap Gron tenuit. r. P. p.ij. d.

Idm Ithel tenet .iiij. acr tre .iij. rođ r . t . p .ij. s .iiij. d ob . pc acr .vj. đ.

APP. Be.

.1335.

Eynon ap Kendal ap Ken tenet j. acr .iij. rod di þc acr .iiij. d . r . t . p .vij. d . ob.

Idm Eynon ap Kendal tenet .j. acr di fre.r.f. p. xij. d. Eynon ap Kendal ap Madok tenet .j. acr di . r. l. p. .ix. d.

[p. 206.]

Gurg ap Ithel tenet .viij. acr .iij. rođ dĩ . Unde .j. acr .j. rođ dĩ pc acr viij. đ t vij. acr dĩ pc acr vj. đ . r . t . p .iiij. s .viij. đ.

Idm Gurg tenet j. rod di . r . t . p .iij. d.

Ririth ap Ithel tenet vij. acr .j. rođ Unde iij. acr dĩ þã acr vj. đ t iij. acr .iij. rođ dĩ . þã acr .viij. đ r p a^m . t . p .iiij. s .iiij. đ.

Iua map Ithel tenet .iiij. acr .j. rođ Unde .iij. acr pc acr iiij đ t .j. acr .j. rod pc acr viij. đ . r . r . r .xxij. đ.

Ithel ap Ioz tenet .j. acr . r . t . p .viij. đ.

Griff ap Ioz tenet .ij. acr dî îre r. î. î .xx. đ pc acr .viij. đ.

Rees ap Meiller tenet .viij. ac
r fre pc acr vj. đ. ř. t. p. .iiij. š.

Idm Rees tenet de tra que fuit Keñ ap Meiller .v. acr pc acr .iiij. d. r. t. p. xx. d.

Idm Rees tenet .vj. acr j. rođ fre unde di acr t di rođ pc acr iiij. đ t v. acr di t di rođ pc acr .vj. đ . re . t . p .iij. s . a^a .

Et în valet acr vj. d. ad min⁵ t io melius app^uet^r.

Et idm Rees tenet .ij. acr dî . t dî rod . Unde .j. acr t dî rod pc acr .vj. d t .j. acr t dî pc acr .viij. d . r . t .p .xviij. d . ob qa.

Leuky que fuit uxor Kendał ap Keñ tenet .j. acr .iij. rođ pc acr .vj. đ . t . p .ix. đ.

Eadm Leuky tenet .ij. acr .j. rod di tre pë acr viijd. r . t. p .xix. d.

Eadm Leuky tenet di acr Pre . r. P . iij. d.

Ioz ap Lauwargh tenet .iiij. acr t xxx ptic tre βc acr .viij. d. r . t . β .ij. s .ix. d . ob.

Gron Vaghan ap Gron tenet iij. acr iij. rod tre peii acr App. Be. .iiij. đ. r p am t. p. xv. đ. 1335.

Iđm Gron tenet j. acr j. rođ di eist pc . r . p . t .v. d .

ob.

Idm Gron tenet .iij. acr 't tciam pte .jo. acre . r . p am . in grosso t. p.ij. s.iij. d. ut fater.

Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .iij. acr ? ?ciam ptem .js. acre . r.

pam . in grosso t . p .ij. š .iij. đ.

Madoke ap Heilyn tenet iij. acr ? Pciam ptem .jo. acro . r. pam. t. p.ij. s.iij. d.

Idm Madoke tenet j. acr pc .vj. d . t di acr pc .iiij. d .

r. pam. f. p.x. d.

Itm pdcus Heilyn ap Eynon tenet di acr tre . r . p am . P. B.iij. d.

Kenervs uxor Madoke tenet .ij. acr pc acr .vj. d l j. acr dī . pc acr .iiij. d . r . t . p .xviij. d.

Iox ap Ririth ap Gron tenet .xj. acr .iij. rod Unde .vij. acr iij. rođ pc acr .iiij. đ . r . t . p .v. s .iij. đ.

Gron Loyd ap Ithel te; v. acr .iij. rod . Unde .iiij. acr pc acr .viij. d . t j. acr .iij. rod . pc acr .iiij. d . r . t . p .iiij. š .iij. đ.

Meiller ap Yoruard tenet j. acr tre . r . t . p .iij. d.

Edden ap Griff te; una acr tre . r . t . p .viij. đ.

Eynon ap Griff tenet ij. acr di. pc acr vj. d. r. P. p .xv. đ.

Yeuan Loyd ap Gron tenet .j. acr j. rođ tre pc acr .viij. đ . r. pam tis pdčis .x. d.

Gron ap Ioz Loyd . t3 una placeam pc . ob . t vij. acr dî tre pc acr viij. d. r. pam. t. p.v. s. ot.

Tangoistel uxor Eynon tenet de tra que fuit Ken ap Meiller .v. acr tre pc acr .iiij. d . r . P . p .xx. d.

Dauid ap Bleth tenet .xiij. acr .j. rođ di . Un .iiij. acr .j. rod di pë acr .viij. d. tix. acr pë acr vj. d. r. pam. t. p .vij. § .v. d.

App. Be. Madokę ap Ithel tenet .ij. acr dî t xxx ptic pc acr .viij. d.

A.D. r. p am . t. p .xxj. d ob.

Madoke Bagh tenet una acr . r . e . p .vj. d.

Bleith ap Eynon ap Ada tenet fram Yockyn Cam natiui diffike que cōt; .xvij. acr t xxv. ptic fre bosc t vast. r. p am. t. p. in grosso .v. s. Et nto r. p ea Tunge t alia viua suicia supius no ta quousq, pdict Ioz Cam aut heredes sui

[p. 207.] vendint & satisfecint p dca tra rehabend & c.

1335.

Herbag. Et sic supsunt de ppte dni in Wickewere .CCxxvij. acr .iij. rod t xv. ptic tre t vast de quib; dns nullu capit annuale pficuu nisi qd coitas villat redd dno p am. pinde herbag ad .ijos. tios .xiij. s .iiij. d . Et tn valeret quett acr ad appuand una plus t alia mino .iij. d p am ad mino . Et sic foret No. appuament p am plus qam nuc xliij. s .vj. d ob.

Smª herbağ—xiij. š .iiij. đ.

Molend.

Et est ibi unu Molendinu aqaticu Unde qarta ps ptinet dno qua Heilyn ap Watte tenet ad firmā. r. pam. ad ijos.

Pios pdēos .vj. s.viij. d. Et idm Heilyn. r. dno pam. ad eosdm tios loco Priodar illius vill pattach stagni Molend.

viij. s.iiij. d.

Smª firm Molend cū attach Stagni--viij. š .iiij. đ.

Ioz ap Eynon tenet xxj. acr .iij. rođ tre in Boydroghyn Unde .v. acr t di . pc acr .vj. đ . t.xv. acr t di pc acr .viij. đ . r tis pdcis xiij. s .j. đ.

Ieuan ap Groñ ap Eynon tenet ix. acr tre pc acr viij. d. r. t. p. vi. s.

Gron ap Madoke tenet . xiiij. acr pc acr iiij. đ . r . l . p .iiij. š .viij. đ.

Ioz ap Madokę ap Ioz t; iiij. acr eiusam pc. r. P. p xvj. a.

3.)

Hamelt

de Boydroghyn.

Heilyn ap Groñ ap Eynon t; iiij. acr .iij. rođ eiusđm pcii . App. Be. F. P. B.xix. d. A.D. 1335.

Eynon Routh tenz .iij. acr eiusdm pc . r . t . p .xij. d. Wladus Vergh Edeneweyn tenet . di acr . r . t . p . ij. d. Dauid ap Dauid Wan tenet ij. acr iij. rođ eiusđm pc r.

P. P. xj. d.

Dauid ap Ioz tenet j. acr di eiust pc r. t. p. vj. d. Eynon Loyd tenet iij. acr eiust pc r. t. p. xij. d. Dauid ap Ph tenet .ij. acr eiusdm pc . r . l . p .viij. d. Ken ap Conagh tenet .v. acr eiusdm pc . r . t . p .xx. d. Madoke ap Heilyn tenet ij. acr eiusdm pc . r. t. p

.viij. d.

Meiller ap Ioz tenet j. acr di eiusam pc . r . P . p .vj. d. Madoke ap Dauid Wan tenet j. acr r ? ? iiij. đ. Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .ij. acr eiusdm pc. r. t. p. viij. d. Itm Heilyn ap Evnon Gogh tenet .j. acr di eiust pc . r.

2. p.vj. đ.

Keu ap Eynon tenet ij. acr eiusdm pc . r . t . p .viij. d . Evnon Voyl tenet .ij. acr eiusam pc . r . t . p .viij. d. Dauid ap Kendat ap Ioz tenz ij. acr eiusd pc . r . t . p .viij. d.

Dauid Loyd tenet .j. acr tre . r . t . p .viij. đ. Ken Duv tenet .ij. acr . r p am . t . p .viij. d . pc acr ut supa. Madoke ap Ph tenet j. acr . r . P . B .iiij. đ.

Omes Natiui eiusdm vilt qui dant butir tenent gauelt Pidith bulgh integre que cont .l. acr di tre pt ppte eiusd gau Appuetr in cõi vasto que contineret si ptita fuisset .xxvj. acr dī . 7 ista tra xxxij. ptič reda p annu in grosso tminis pdictis-xvj. s.j. a ob. valet p

S^c p a^m .liiij. š .viij. đ p .xxvij. š .iiijd. q^a
.j. rod fre f Smª firm de ma firm de Boydroghyn. Sẽi Mich .xxvij. š .iiijd qa Sẽi Mich .xxvij. š .iiij. đ . qa .xxvj. acr di tis t xxxij ptič vast si pt

meli q annū.

APP. Be.

A.D. 1335. Herbağ. Et cõitas eius de Hamelt r duo p am ad .ijos. tros pdcos p herbag residue ppartis dui ibm .lv. s . t cont illud residuu si ptitu fuit t extractu pt vastu pporcois gauelt Pridith bulgh

 N_0^a .

supins .vij.l. acr t xxviij. ptič quaz quett acr valeret p a^m ad app^uanđ .ij. đ . Et s^c foret app^uamentū p a^m . plus q^am nūc .lxx. š.

Smª herbağ p am—lv. š.

Molenđ. šs. S3. app^uet^r meli⁵. g3 Et est ibi unu Molendinu aqaticu unde . xija. ps ptin đno qua Dauid ap Ioz tenet ad firmā . \tilde{r} . đno p a^m . ad .ijos. \tilde{r} os \tilde{p} d \tilde{c} os .xvj. đ.

olend Sma I

molend est bonū t in loco viuo t č. Smª Molend p a^m—xvj. d.

Ioz ap Eynon ap Yenaf tenet xij. acr .iij. rođ tre mortue t j. acr .j. rođ dĩ tre diffikt Unde ij. acr t dĩ . t dĩ rođ pc acr iiij. đ t .xj. acr dĩ pc acr .vj. đ . re . t p .vjs. viijđ ob.

Groñ ap Mad tez .ix. acr tr . pc acr .viijd. t iij. rod pc

.iiij. d. ob. r p am t. p.ijs. iiijd ob.

Eynon Loyd tenet .xiij. acr tre . Unde .vij. acr pc acr .viij. d . t v. acr .iij. rod pc acr .xij. d . r p am . t . p .x. s .vij. d.

Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .viij. acr dî . pc acr .vj. d . r . ? .

p .iiij. š .iij. đ.

Madoke ap Heilyn tenet .j. acr . r . t . p .vj. d.

Heilyn ap Groñ tenet iiij, acr fre pc acr .viij. d t .j. rod pc .j. d . ob . r . f . p .ij. s .ix. d . ob.

Tota villata tenet .ij. acr dre pc acr x. đ. r. p am. Pmis

Pdčis .xx đ.

Et sic supsunt de ppte dni in Kilmayl xlvij. acr dî t .x. ptic tre t vast p quaz herbag Coitas vilt redd p am . ad .ijos. tos pdcos .iiij. s . et tamen si ptit fuissent t extracte.

valeret que t acr. una plus l alia min ad appuant p a App. Be. .iij. d ad min Et s foret pficuu p a plus q m nuc—vij. . A.D. .x. d. ob.

Smª herbağ p am—iiij. š.

Smª Tunge toci⁵ Cōmoti de Ysdulas p a^m Pio O^m Sc̃oz— [p. 243.] lx³. iiij^d.

Smª denar p butir eodm tmio—lxiij. š .iij. đ . ob qª.

vj. š.ij. đ. ob q x. š.j. đ Sma denař p disce farine t Thraŭ aueň eođ tro—xvj. š .iijd. ob . qa p Cxlix. disce di farin t xxx Thraŭ t iiijta pte .jo. thraŭ.

Smª pastus Pinč diusimode accidente p crsū tiennalē tīs

a^m . 't sic semp dec^rrendo p illā differenc triennalem.

Smª Past⁵ Pⁱnč diùsimode accid p c^rsū tⁱennalem aº tūc px̃ seq̃nt̃—

Nat Doi

.lij³ . iiij^d . q^a

Međ xle .xxvj. š .iij đ se toto illo ao .vj. lĩ .xvij. š .

Nat. š. Ioh .xxxij. š.x. đ. qa dī ob. t dī qa.

Exalt. S. Cueis .xxvj. S.iij. d.

APP. Be. A.D. 1335.

Smª Past famit Princip exeunt de Natiu isti Comoti Pis Nat Doi ij. š Med xle ij. š sc. p am. viij. š.j. d ob. Nat s . Ioh ij. ŝ Exalt. S. Cucis.ij. S.j d ob

Et sciend qd omes libi istius Comoti t eoz tenentes pt pgēiem Eden reddent dno in cõi p am. ad festu Exalî Sce xx. š.j. đ xij. š .x. đ Crucis p pastu Staloñ t garcõis luctrar cu canib3 t Pennackew 4 Waissyon bagheyn adiuice .xlij. 8 .xj. d . ob . Et colligit int eos p catalt & c.

Et omes Natiui istius Comoti Pre tenentes reddent ano ij. š .iiij. đ iiij. 8 .vj. đ adinuice p annu eodm tio p pastu Stalon t garcois luctrar cu ii. g .iii. đ. ix. 8 .j. đ

canib; Pennackew & Waissyon bagheyn . Itm omes Natiui qui non dant butir reddut dno adiuice tio pdco p pastu

xiii d. ob dextrar t garcois t p pastu equi Ragloti .ix. & .v d . ob put plenius patet in villa de Wyckewer.

Sma pasto liboz I Natiũ p am. adiuice p

Pastu Stalon & garcois xv § .ij. d Pastu lucr cū canib3 xxiiii § .vij đ ad festū Exalt . § . Pastu Pennak t Weis bagh xijs. iijd ob Cucis.

Pastu dextar t garcois viii. § .iiii d

xiij. d. ob/ Pastu equi Ragloti

Et omes libi istius Comoti reddunt dno p am. adinuice p sustentacone domoz I sepiù Manerii de Dynorbyn ad Imios Pent & sci Michis p eqales porcões .xiij. & .iiij. d . et colligit ista consuetudo int eos se im eoz catalla ut dicunt.

Itm omes Natiui istius Comoti qui dant butir reddunt ad v. s .viij. đ eosam in Emios cõi pro sustentacõe domoz eiusam Manerii ? vj. s .viij. đ sustent Molend de Meynyot ut patet supius-xiij. & .iiij. d.

[p. 244.] Adhue de Sma Past⁹ Princip

Consuetudines.

Sm² denar̃ tā de libis qam de Natīs p—

Sustent̃ domoz tīs (Pent x. s)Sustent̃ domoz tīs (Sci Mich x. s)Sustent̃ Molend tīs (Pent iij s. iiij. d)Sustent̃ Molend tīs (Sci Mich iij. s. iiij. d)Sustent̃ Molend tīs (Sci Mich iij. s. iiij. d)Sustent̃ Molend tīs (Sci Mich iij. s. iiij. d)

Smª denar exeunc de Natis p diùsis minute cosuet—

Vidett.
Galtis ad Naĩ Doⁱ ut nũc iiij. š . p xlviij. galtis.

Galfis ad Naî Do¹ ut nuc iii. § . p xlviij. galfis. Cribrar auen ad Pasch ut nuc iii. § . p xxxvj Cribr.

Ouis tagň eodm tĩo ut nữc ix s p .viij.lxiiij. oữ t xxxvj. agň. Opib; autūpnat t Assūpč te M°. ut ñc xxjs p Clxviij. opib;.

Accidunt iste consuedines 1 scam mage 4 min put plur fuint ten de Natiuis vi pauciores.

Smª denar exeunc de Naris qui non dant butir de fine p offic ppoiture eis relaxando p annu tro Exalt sce Crucis .x. s.

Smª valor opū arure t herciature de Natis de Meynyot. Kilkydokę t Dynorbyn Vaghan p estimacõem cõib; annis ad Natat Dni .iij. š. Tamen accidit sub incerto šcđm pluralit Natiož habene carue t č.

Smª valor busce ad sepes puēient de Natis istius Cōmoti facientib; vil emendantib; sepes cõib; annis p estiacõem pimo die Maii—ij. s . Accidit tamen sub incerto.

Et omes libi t Nati isti⁹ Cōmoti reddunt dno adinuice p annu ad tios Pent t sei Mich p past Forest in cõi—lx s .viij. d.

Smª patet.

Et sic est Smª valor oim cosuetud pdict coib; annis xvij. li .vij. s .vij. d . ob qª . di.

Offic Ragloti cu feod eius valet coib; annis	C. §
Offic Ryngildr valet coib3 annis cu feod suis	iiij. li .ij. s
Offic Iudic cu feod suis valet coib; annis	X X. §
Offic Coidar cu feod suis valet coib; annis	xl. 8 Officia
Offic Seruient pacis cu feod suis	lx. 3

¹ So in the MS.

APP. Be. Offic Ragloti aduocariaz cū reddu hoim qi sūt ī aduocar A.D. dni val; cõib; annis

1335. Offic amobi cū amobi sistius Cōmoti valet cõib; annis x l

Offič amob
ř cũ amobragiis istius Cōmoti valet cõib
3 annis x lĩ Smª valor Officio
ặ ad firm $\mathacket{\it lim}$ Tis—

Pen \tilde{t} xiij lĩ .xij d) sc. $p a^m$.xxvj lĩ .ij. \tilde{s} . Sci Mich .xiij lĩ .xij. d)

Pquis Ir̃m pquis Cur̃ cu fin releu intestatoz t õib; aliis escaet̃ Cur̃. estimant valere cõib; annis—xx lĩ. Sm² patet.

Iĩm pquis Cur Forest cũ õib; escaet Forest istius Cōmoti estimant valere cõib; annis—xx. S. Smª patet.

Sm^a valor̃ Maĥii de Dynorbyn quod est ī đnico p a^m. — xxiiij. lĩ .x. š .vijđ. q^a.

 $\rm Sm^a$ $\rm s^amaz$ oı̃m reddituũ cōsuetuđ t̄ firm̃ isti Cōmoti uno ao pl t̄ talio min in terminis .

Pasch xij. š S^c p a^m .Cliij. lĩ Penĩ . . lxvj. lĩ .vj. š .j. đ q^a vij. š .vj. đ .ob .

Naĩ . s . Ioh . . . xxxv. \tilde{s} .j .đ . dĩ q^a q^a dĩ.

Smª valor exituu qi accidut sb incto i Pmis-

Arure & herciature . iij. 3.

Busĉ ad sep . . . ij. š.

Pquis t exit Forest . xx. s.

Pquis Cur cu ret t escaet xx. lī.

Et sic est Smª valoris tocius Cōmoti de Ysdulas p annū

in öib; exit scdm istā extent—C iiij . xix . lī .iij. s .ij. d t dī qa. Et potit app^uari p annū plus qam nūc put patet p ptičlas in diùse villat de—xvij. lī .viij. s .xj. d.

₽qⁱ§

Fores .

APPENDIX Bf.

Extent of the Villata of Dynorbyn Vaur.

Man iŭ de Dynorbyn Vaur.

Situs Manerii de Dynorbyn in quo est una gangia App. Bf. copetens t alta penit vastata pt gross maerem . unu ganar t una boueria t una dom⁵ p feno t forag debit cont uniusatr Capitale ij acr t una ptic unde aysiamt domoz t Cur valet p am .v. s . Mesuag. Et est ibi unu colubar ruinosu quod si repetr valebit p am vi. š .viii. đ.

Smª valoris capit Mesuagii cū colūbar—xj. š .viijd. Et sunt ibi de tra arabili que potest quott ao seïari .j. acr .iij rođ dĩ t xix. ptic que valent in grosso p am iij. š .iiij. đ. Sunt t ibi de tra arabli cousa in tres seisonas .CCj. acr t xxxvj. ptič que valent p am šcam diusa pcia .xij. lī .vij. š .ix. d . Unde in una seisona vidit in .ij. culturis in le Spitelfeld .lxvij. acr.xv. ptic pc acr.xv. d. In scda seisona vid; in duab; pec ex pte occid del Spitelfeld .viij. acr .x. ptic di . 7 in .ij. forlonge T'ra ex pte austali del Spitelfeld usq ad viam regia subt9 Pendinas arabit. lvij. acr .j. rod .xix. ptic di . pc cuiustt acr .xv. d . Et in Pcia seisona in le Vaughcleit subfiori ex pte boriali vie pdce liiij, acr di t xvij, ptic pc acr .xv. d . Et ibm ex pte australi eiusdm vie .xv. acr t .xiiij. ptic pc acr .xij. d . Irm sunt ibi de veti frisc in cultra vocar le Maorderu .xl. acr di t xxx. ptic que non valent conuti cu aliis seisonis fre arabit ppt eoz debilitatem qappt ordinantr de ceto ao pastram bidenciū t valent p am .xx. š .iiij. đ . pc acr vj. đ.

Sma tocis tre arabit—CCxliij acr .iij. rod dî t .v. ptic . vat p am-xiij. lī .xjš. vd.

¹ So in the MS.

APP. Bf.

A.D. 1335. Sunt $\tilde{\tau}$ ibi in đni \tilde{c} .xxij. ac \tilde{r} .iij. rođ $\tilde{\tau}$ iij. pti \tilde{c} pati . Vidit in magno pato simil iacen \tilde{t} .xvij. ac \tilde{r} .iij. rođ d \tilde{t} viij. pti \tilde{c} . Et nuc pd \tilde{c} m patu $\tilde{\tau}$ le Spitelfelđ cu una pua pla \tilde{c} inta trā arabilē subtior cultre de Spitelfelđ .iiij. ac \tilde{r} .iij. rođ $\tilde{\tau}$.xv. pti \tilde{c} \tilde{c} valent in uniuso p am .lx. \tilde{s} .viij. \tilde{d} . $\tilde{p}\tilde{c}$ ac \tilde{r} ij. \tilde{s} .viij. \tilde{d} .

 Sm^a acı̈ paı̈ .xxij. acı̈ t xxxiij. ptic̈ qe . vat p am .lx. s̃ .viij. d̃ .

Et sunt ibi de pastura sepali in đnicis .lxxij. acr t .xxxiij ptič que valent p a^m . šcđm dius pč .iiij. lī .vj. š . q^a . Unde in Marisco quod vocat^r le Frith .lxvj. acr .j. rođ di t .x. ptič pč acr .xv. đ . In quadam plač int tram arabit vidtt in campo desup le Spitelfelđ j. rođ dĩ t xvj. ptič pč in toto iiij. đ . Iřm in .j. pcelt subtus Pendinas .j. acr .j. rođ t .xv. ptič pč acr .xij. đ t a bosco de Pendinas usq ad port Manlii ex utaq pte le Longeclogh cũ viriđ exa portā .iij acr .iij. rođ dĩ t xiij. ptič . pč acr iiij. đ.

[p. 215.]

Pastra

sepat.

Smª acraz pasture—lxxij. acr̃ t xxxiij ptič qe . valt p a^m .iiij. lĩ .vjš. q².

Boscus.

Est ibi unus boscus qui vocat^r Pendinas vestitus debili subbosco qui cōtin; .xxxiij. acr̃ .iij. rod qui polit amputari quolt duodecīo anno t tunc valebit acr̃ .iiij. s . Et sic si subboscus pporcionet^r in .xij. ptes equales valebit p annū .xj. s .iij. d . Pastura dc̃i bosci si ita pporcionet^r valebit n^to⁹—ij. s .ix. d.

Sm^a acraz bosci .xxxiij. acr̃ .iij. rođ que vat p a^m si pporc̃onet^r—xiiij. S.

Adam Anneiesone tenet ad voluntatem de pdicte dnië .j. plaë tre cōt .j. act .j. rod t .xj. ptië subt boscū de Pendinas reddo p ea p am .vj. s . ad tios Pent t sëi Michis p eqales porcones.

Tra arentat ad voluntat.

Itm Adam ap Thornlee tenet ibm j. plac Pre ad voluntatē dni que continet .iij. acr . I xxv. ptic . reddo p annū ad Pios Pdcos .v. s . equis porcoibj.

Adam fit Riči tenet ibm .j. plač cont ij. acr .iij. rođ t .xiiij. ptič reddo p a^m tis pdčis .vj. s .vj. d.

Iones de Rothelan tenet ibm .iiij. acr .j. rod di t .xxvij. ptic fre assart de bosc de Pendinas . r . p am .viij. s . eisd tis. Et Ricus del Nant tenet iuxa le Maorderue quamdam plac fre p xvj. acr t .iij. ptic fre . r . p am fis pdcis .viij. s.

APP. Bf.

A.D. 1335.

Smª acraz fre arentaf .xxviij. acr .j. rođ di qe redđ p am ad ijos. Pios-xxxiij. 8 .vj. d.

Itm pquis Cur estimant valere coib; annis—xiij. s.iiij. d. Sma patet.

Sma valoris tocius Maner de Dynorbyn î oîb; exit p amxxiiij. lī .x. š .vij. đ qa.

Et est ibi quedam Hamelt que ptiñ ad Maner pdcm 1 consistebat temporib; Princip integr in manib; Natroz qui consueuerut face dius consuet t opa ad Maner de Dynorbyn que nuc eis arent a tempore Comit Lincoln. Ita gd omes Natiui eiusdm Hamelt reddūt adinuice p annū p omimodis Hamelt redditib; . consuetud t opib; ad tios Pent t sci Michis p dreue. equales porcones .xxxv. s .x. d . Et iidm Custumarii ten int se hereditar totam illam Hamelt pt .xl. acr di . t xxx ptic que conutunt in doic Maner supedci . I pt .xxxviij. acr di que arent inferius ut statim pat in postum.

de Mayr-

Sma Reddit t cons Hamelt de Mayrdreue Sci Michis .xvijš. xj. d. sc p am .xxxvš.

Cõitas ville tenet xiiij. acr de escaet pc acr viij. d . r ., p am ad ijos Pios pdcos .ix. 3 .iiij. đ.

Eadem Coitas tenet .viij. acr fre eiusam pc. r. f. p.v. 3 .iiij. d.

Willym Cam tenet .iij. acr di eiusam pc . r . t . p .xx. d. Griff ap Iacke tenet iiij. acr eiusd pc. r.t.p. ij. s .viij. d.

Iohes de Rothelan tenet .iiij. acr eiust pc . r . t . p .ij. s .viij. đ.

Iones de Pontefracto 7 Robtus de Castelford ten qandam plac vocat Thle Tee Madoke que cont .vj. act T. t. p. in grosso .iiij. 3.

APP. B f. A.D. 1335 Sma firm de Mayrdreue \mathfrak{t} is $\{$ Pen \mathfrak{t} .xij. \mathfrak{s} .x. \mathfrak{d} . $\{$ S $\tilde{\mathfrak{s}}$ i Mic $\tilde{\mathfrak{t}}$.xij. \mathfrak{s} .x. $\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$.

Sc p am xxv. š .viij. đ p xxxviij acr di fre.

[p. 2.6.Herbağ.No^a.

Et sic supsunt de ppte đni ibm .xviij. acr fre t vasti p qua; ħbağ comunitas ville reddit p a^m . ad ijos. fios pdcos .v. s. Et t valeret quelibet acr ad appuant p a^m . ad min iiij. t. Et sic foret appuament t plus t qam nunc .xij. t.

Sma herbağ p am—v. s.

Et sic restat clarus valor tocius Maĥii cũ villata de Dynorbyn Vaur p a^m , ī uniûso—xxvij. lĩ .xvij. s .j. đ q^a.

APPENDIX Bg.

Extent of the Villata of Tebrith.

Ros Ughdulas.

Extenta Cōmoti de Ugādulas facta anno regni Regis App. Bg. Edwardi tercii post cōquestū .viij°.

Dominus nichil net in anico in Comoto de Ugndulas nisi
pporcoes que sibi acciderut in diusis villar de quib; porcoib;
pndebit iferi in qualibet villar p se que quidem porcoes
acciderunt ano taque escaer ptim racone mortuoz cont pacem
ptim p descu seruic 7 c.

Villata de Tebrith.

Tota villata de Tebrith cū Hamelt suis de Maencoke t Keuenkestilth tenet in quinq, lectis quoz quodlibet lectū solebat reddere de Tunge dum fuit iutegr in mañ viuoz tenenc .iiij. s. tmīo Oīm Scoz. Vidtt Wele Genthlyn ap Pithle. Wele Kemmynge ap Pithle. Wele Cadugan ap Pithle. Wele Edeñ ap Pithle t Wele Risshard ap Pithle Et sunt omes tenentes in vilt t Hamelt pdcis libi Piodar t null Natiuus t vocant Wyrion Pithle.

Ioz Gogh ap Madok Eynon ap Yenafe ap Ph. Dauid ap Ieuan Gogh Madoke ap Meuryke ap Heilyn tenent .iiijor. ptes istius Wele reddo de Tunge adinuice emio Oïm Scoz .iij. s .ij. d . ob . Et p past Pinc p annû ad Natał Dni .xv. d . Et isti cū cū i omibz aliis Priodar istis ville reddunt adinuice p past Pinc Med xle . ij. s . ad festû Nat Sci

Wele Genthlyn.

¹ So in the MS.

APi_P, Bg

A.D.

1335.

Wele

Ken-

nyng.

[]

Iotis Bapte .ij. s t ad festu Exalt Sce Crucis .ij. s . Et facient omia alia suic in coi cu omib; litis istius Comoti, que patebunt inferius in fine istius Comoti . Et vta. ps istius Comoti est escaet dni Unde rndet inferius.

Griffe ap Dd ap Aur Madoke ap Aur Vaghan . Yeuan Vaghan ap Ieuan . Yeuan ap Dd Aur . Ioz Eynon & Dauid fres eius Tuder ap Ioz ap Aur . Heilyn Gruff & Dauid fres eius Tuder ap Madoke Vaghan . Mad fr eius . Yeuan Guyn ap Mad . Yeuan ap Dd ap Keñ . Yeuan ap Dd ap Madoke . Bleth ap Ioz Vaghan . Dauid fr eius Dauid ap Grono Vaghan ap gg. Tuder fr eius Bleth ap Dd ap Griffry Eynon Gogh ap Eynon & Ithel ap Grono Gogh tenent tres ptes isti⁹ Wele excepta inde xxxvjta pte reddo de Tunge adinuice Emīo Oim Scoz iij. 8 .ij. đ. Et p past Pinc ad Natat Dni .xiij. d qa . 7 ceta Suicia cū aliis in cõi ut supa . Et .iiijta. ps t xxxvjta. ps cetū triū pciū isti9 Wele sūt escaet dni Uñ rndetr cu celis escaetis inferius.

Et omes isti libi Priodar r. adīnicē p Past Stalon & garc lucr cū canib; 7 Pennak 7 Waiss bagheyn pam. ad fm Exalî Sce Crucis iij. 3 .x. d . Et colligit^r int p e03 catalla.

cane

Wele Caduğ. Ioʻz ap Willym ap Mereduth. Caduğ ap Willym ap Caduğ. Lt. Gogh ap Dd. Mereduth fr ei . Mereduth ap Lt Meiller. Ioʻz ap Tudr ap Eynon t Keñ ap Dd Voyl t Hoel ap Dd ap Doyok¢ tenent medietatē t duodecimā ptē isti Wele. r. de Tung¢ adinuicem tmīo oim Scoʻz. ij. s. iiij. d Et p pastu Pincip ad Natale Dni—xj. d. Et ceta suicia cū aliis in cõi ut supa. Et residuū istius Wele est escae tani. Unde respondet cū cetis escaetis inferius.

Wele Edeñ. Mered ap Mad ap Eynō. Dd Loyd ap Lauwargh. Tuder ap Griffuth ap Groñ Eynon Gogh ap Dd. Groñ ap Ioz Gogh. Bleth ap Ioz ap Groñ t Griff ap Ioz ap Groñ tenent totú istud

Wele reddo de Tunge adinuicem tmio Oim Scoz iiij. š. Et App. Bg p pastu Pinc ad Natat Doi xviij d. Et ceta suic in coi cu aliis ut supa Et dns nullam habet escaetă in isto Wele.

Lauwargh ap Meiller ap Caduğ. Dauid ap Griffri ap Yenafe Eynon fr eius Dauid ap Edeñ ap Daniel t Edeñ fr eius tenent totu istud Wele. ř. de Tunge adinuice tmio oim Scoz.iiij. š. Et p pasť Princ ad Nať Dni .xviij. d t ceta suic in coi cu aliis supius. Et dñs nullam het escaet in isto Wele.

Wele Risshard.

Smª Tunge de Tebryth p am. tmīo Oim Scoz-xvjš. viijā. ob.

Sma past² Pinč tīs- Međ .xle . . . ij. \bar{s} . Sic p am. xij \bar{s} . Nat . s . Ioh Bapt . ij. \bar{s} iij \bar{d} ob q^a Exalt Sce Crucis . ij. \bar{s}

Et contiet ppars escaet d'ni in vilt i Hamelt pdcis c .iiij.xxv. acr di tre bosc i vast que appuant ut statim patebit in postum.

APPENDIX Bh.

Extract from the Cymwd of Ughalet.

APP. Bh.

A.D.

1335.

[p. 153.]

Et quicumq, eoz obierit filius eius t hes dabit dno p releŭ anteqa eius hereditat optime possit v. s. Et si filius non huit tunc frat eius aut nepos aut consanguineus qui eius heres ppinquior fuit vidett in teio gradu vel infra dabit p releŭ suo x. s. Et qui in remocori gradu fuit qam in tio non potit heredit exige no optinere q. exa teiū gradū no est int eos descensus heditarius s; in hoc cau erit tra pur escaet dni Tamen si dns velit his tram alicui tenenti dimittere cicuis dimittenda est ppinquiori de sanguine illius a quo tra illa sic accidit dno p defectu sanguinis ppinquioris qam alicui extanio p vero valore t c.

Item si quis eoz seu quozcuma alioz Nafioz istius Cōmoti filiam suam maritaulit aut quecuma filiaz Natiu seipam maritaulit vil eciam sup fornicacõe conuicta fuit dabit dno p amobr v. s. Et si ipa forte non huit vnde solue ppinquiores pentes eius seu amici soluant p ea . Et eciam si vx alicui Natiui sup adultio conuici fuit maritus eius soluet p ea simitr p amobr v. s. Et h quocienscuma alique eaz sr hui morimaritag Fornicacõib; aut adultiis cum dius psonis comisse seu i ate conuinci potunt.

 $^{\rm 1}$ There is a similar statement at the end of the Extent of the Cymwd of Ros Ughdulas.

APPENDIX Bi.

Extract from the Cymwd of Ussalet.

APP. Bi.

A.D.

1335.

[p. 148.]

Dicunt eciam qd fit libi Preodar post mortem patris sui dabir duo p releuio suo anqam heredit suam possideat x. s. Et frat aut nepos aut consanguineus infa teiu gradum t in teiu gradu dabit p releuio suo post mortem antec sui anteqam eius heredit optineat xx. s. Et vlta teiu gradu non est inteus ius heredit s; erit tra escaet dui p defectu herede te.

APPENDIX C.

EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, A.D. 1326.

Additional MSS. 34135, British Museum.

Extent om terraru et reddituu dni Epi Meneu fact p Magrm Dauid Fraunceys Cancellar Meneuens tempore venerabit patris dni Dauid Martyn. Dei gra Epi loci Anno Dni. Miltmo .CCC^{mo}. vicesimo sexto.

A.D. 1326. [Fol. 1.]

Villa de Landewybreuy.

[Fol. 35.]

Oweyñ ap Lt. Ythel Loyd. Gr ap Ieuan. Ieuan Seys. Dauid ap Gruff Dun. Ieuan ap Gwelowe. Ieuan ap Gr ap Lt. t Hō ap Ieuan iurati ibm dicunt p sacrm eoz qd dūs het ibm unā domum in villa Et vat p annū ad locand ij. s.

Patria de Landewybreuy.

[Fol. 36.]

Tîm dicūt q̃d sunt ibid viij. lecti qui vocant Gwely de Libi p¹mo Gwely Lt ap Vryeñ . Iorūth Gogh . Iorūth ap Gr . t descendentes ab eisd redd đno p annū .iij. š .iiij. d ad fm sči Mich . De sčdo Gwely sunt Kediuor ap Cradoc . Gwasmyhangel ap Cradoc t descendentes ab eisd redd đno p annū iij. š .iiij. d . eod tmīo . De tercio . Gwely sūt Cadog¹n Captlus Euer fit Captli . Iorūth ap Cradoc t descendentes ab eisd redd đno iij. š .iiij. d eod tīo . De quarto . Gwely sūt Gronou ap Duthgu . Dauid ap Gwyon . Trah¹rn ap Ithel t descendentes ab eisd redd đno p annū iij. š .iiij. d . De

APP. C. A.D. 1326. quinto. Gwely sunt Dauid ap Traharñ Ph ap Cadogañ. Eynoñ Vaghan t descendentes ab eisd redd dno p annu iij. s.iiij. d. eod t. De sexto. Gwely sunt Ph ap Cadrand. Gurgeñ frat eius Dauid Dauid frater eiusdm t descendentes ab eisd redd dno p am .iij. s.iiij. d. eod t. De septimo. Gwely sunt Meiler Captus Dauid ap Auel Gwas Dewy Vaghan. t descendentes ab eisd redd dno p am .iij. s.iiij d. eod tio. De octauo. Gwely sunt Dauid Coyg Dauid ap Zosseth. Cadogañ ap Dd. t descendentes ab eisd redd dno p annu iij. s.iiij. d. eod tio. Et omes pdci tenent p antiquam tenurā vid3 p Ach t Edrid.

Smª—xxvj. š .viij. đ.

Seruic.

Et omes pdci dabūt p hiett vij. s vj. d . Et dabūt p leyrwit .ij. š . Et quol3 iijo anno p comorth in ktn Maii .viij. vacc . Et sic diuidendo quol3 .iijo. anno est valor đno .xvij. 8 .ix. d . Et dabūt pannag viz ubi vij porci vl ptres fuint .j. Et si paucores nt . Ita qd dns porcoz eligat .ij. de uniuso t dñs funai feiu Et cariare dent grossu mem ad tahi non potest p.j. equu de foresta de Atp usa Manliu de Landogy p quing domib; ibid faciend vi; aula Cama dni Coquina stablo & grang sumptib; suis Et cariare dent gross mem p molend quociens opus fuit. Et emendare fossam eiusd Et molares eiusd cariare sumptib; eoz . Et fac sect ad molend Et dicūt qd heredes cui lit compelli dent ad recipiend neditat post mortem pent faciend inde suic debit t consuet. Et duce dent prisones apud villa 1 de Landewy Et de villa usq. Lawhad quociens opus fuit suptib; suis Et fac sect Cur de iii. sept in iii. sept . Et est coe amciament eoz .vij. & .vj. d .

Afficiamēt vij. š vj. đ

Et in Nund ibid fac clausura modo t locis consuer cu quinq villis sequen suptib; suis. Et omes tenentes libo; de Cardiganshire solue dent thollon de reb; t aïalib; vend t empt. Et valent dict suic t cons p estimacem

Sma_

¹ So in the MS.

Extent of St. David's, 1326.

Carthely.

H dicunt qd ptit t pquis ibm valent p annu .iij. s.

It dicūt q̃d est ibm .j. lectus qui vocat^r. Gwely. de quo sūt Ieu^an Vagh^an ap Ieu^an Wyth Lewel ap Gurgeñ. Gruff Hager t descendent ab eist redt dno p annū.vj. š.viij. d. ad fm sõi Mich.

App. C.

A.D.
1326.

[Fol. 37.]
pficua.
Libi.

Smª-

Et omes pdči dabūt unā vaccā quol; .iij. anno in ktň Seruič. Maii p Cōmorth. Et val; porčo cuiuslit anni .ij. š .ij. đ . Et facient oïa suič t conš ut dči tenentes de pria de Landewybreny.

pficua. Libi.

Llannon.

Eynon ap Wylym. Cadogañ ap Ieu^an 't Ieu^an ap Howel. iurati ibid dicunt p sacīm eo ā qd ptit 't pquis Cuī ibm transeūt cū Cuī de Landewy Aberarth. It dicūt q̃d est ibm unus lectus qui dicit Gwely de quo sunt dči iurat cū sequela 't descendent ab eisd redd dno p annū.vj. s.viij. d ad fm sči Mich.

[Fol. 38.]

Libi.
Infra
parochiam de
Llansanfrede.

Smª-

Et omes pdči dabūt quol; .iij°. anno in ktū Maii unā vacč p cōmorth Et val; porcio cui⁹lït anni .ij. š .ij. đ. Et fač omia suič t consuetuđ ut pdči tenentes de Landewybreny.

Seruic.

Sma-

Bangor.

[Fol. 39.] Tenent ibm.

It dicūt q̃d sunt ibm .iiijor. lecti de quib3 pimus vocat. Gwely Euewris de quo sunt tenent Lewet Capitus Gruff ap Ieuan ? eoz cōporc Et redd dno p am .v. s ad fm sci Mich. Et scdus lectus vor . Gwely Oyron . redewyth de quo sunt tenentes Yweryth fit Gronou Ieuan ap Ricard . Res ap Gr ? eoz comporc . Et redd dno p annū .v. s eod ? . Et .iij? lect?

¹ In a later hand.

Extent of St. David's, 1326.

APP. C.

A.D.

1326.

[Fol. 54.

Libi.

vo^r. Oyroñ cuelyn de quo sút tenentes Gruff ap Res. Ieu^an ap Adafe t eoz comporc. Et redd dno p a^m.v. s eodm tmino. Sma.xx. s.

Archnatus Brechon. Glastoni.

Iĩm dicūt $\tilde{q}d$ sunt ibm .iij. lecti qui vulgo vocant Gwele . De p° Gwele est stipes $Creg \ell$ t descendentes ab eod redd dno p a^m .iiij. \tilde{s} . ad fm sối Mich . Et de sốdo lecto est stipes Kenyllyn \tilde{t} descend ab eod redd dno p annū .iiij. \tilde{s} eod \tilde{t} io . Et de .iij. lecto Kywryd est stipes \tilde{t} descend ab eod redd dno p a^m .iiij. \tilde{s} . eod \tilde{t} io.

Sm —xij. §.

APPENDIX D.

INQUISITION CONCERNING THE SEIZURE BY PRINCE LLEWELYN OF LANDS HELD IN DOWER BY A WIDOW, AND CHARTERS OF GRIFFIN, SON OF MADOC, LORD OF BROMFELD, GRANTING THE VILLÆ OF HENGEMERE, LANER-PANNA, AND CNOLTON, AND THE MANOR OF EYTUNE, IN MAELOR SEYSNEK, TO EMMA, HIS WIFE, FOR HER LIFE; AND CONFIRMATION BY HIS SONS MADOC, LLYWELYN, OWEN, AND GRIFFIN, A.D. 1270.

Chancery Inquisition post Mortem, 5 Edw. I., No. 78, Public Record Office.

Edwardus Dei gra Rex Angł Dñs Hibn & Dux Aquit dilco 7 fideli suo Guncelino de Batelesme Iustic suo Cestr salutem . Monstrauit not Emma que fuit vx Griffini fil Madocii qd cum ipa tenuisset Maneria de Ouerton 7 Eton cum ptiñ t quasdam tras teñ in Maylor Sesneke de dono pdci Griffini qondam viri sui Habend ad totam vitam eiusdem Emme et ipa in pacifica seisina Manlioz fraz 7 ten pdcoz semp hactenus scdm çsuetudine pciū illaz extitit Balti nri de Brumeffeud ipam a seisina sua Manioz fraz I teñ illoz eiecerunt et ea ei adhuc detinent in ipius Emme dapnū no modicum t gauamen Nos igitr sup pmissis ctiorari volentes, vot mandamo qd p sacrm pboz t leg hôinm de ptib; de Brummeffeud p quos rei veritas melius sciri polit diligento inquiratis, quis Mania illa tras I ten pfate Emme contulit, et si ei collata fuint tenenda ad tminu vite p feoffamentum pfati Griffini ul in dotē et si ad tminū vite qualit 7 quomodo 7 si in dotem

A.D. 1270.

(m. 1.)

APP. D qualit t quomodo et si p baltos ñros ûl alios eiecta fuit a seisina sua pdca et si p baltos ñros qualit t qua de causa. et si p alios p quos t qualit t qua de causa. Et inquisicoem inde distincte t apte fcam sub sigillo vro t sigilt eoz p quos fca fuit not sine diloe mittatis t hoc bre T me ipo apd Wygorn vi die Jut anno r n quoto.

(m. 2.)

Inquis fca p Guncelinu de Badelesme Iustic Cestr die Martis pxª ante festum sce Margarete anno r̃ r̃ Ẽ. qinto apd Fardon scdm tenore bris dni Reg sibi directi p subsciptos videlicet Houel ab Lewelyn . Ingnon fit Lewelyñ . Yoruerth fit Kenewrike. Joruerth fit Griffuñ. Houa fit Phi. Maddoke fit Houel . Houa Waghan . Maddoke Waghan . Kenewrike frem eius . Kenewrike fit Yonas . Houen frem eius . Howeyn fit Phi . Blethin Wich . Blethin fit Maddoci . Gronou fit Ythel . Kenewrike fit Lewelyn . Kenewrike fit Griffuñ & Geruasium fit Eyner . Juratos . qui dicūt sup sacrū suū ad Griffinus de Brumfeld quando Emmam fit Henr de Aldethelig duxit in vxm dedit eide Emme Manliu de Outon 7 Malor Saysnekę cū omiba ptin ad Pminū vite sue t eadem Emma p balliuū suū Jur omnia explet dci Mahii cep ad opus suū ppium toto tpe vite dci Griffini viri sui . Requisiti : si illud Mahliū cū Malor Saysneke collatū fuit eidē nõie feofamenti vl dotis . dicut qd p feoffamentu dci Griffini t p cartam suam quam porexit ibidem . Reqisiti : qalif I quomodo dca Emma venit ad maîliū de [E]yton dicūt qd dcm Maîliū fuit eschaet dci Griffini p morte Howet fris eius. 't postqam idem Griffinus inde huit bonam it pacifica seis [1] Mahlium pdcm dedit dce Emme vx sue . Reqisiti . si noïe dotis vl feoffamenti . dicut ad p feoffamentů t p quandă cartă qam porrexit ibid que illud idē testatr Simul cū cōfirmacõe hered dĉi Griffini qam eidē Emme fecerut post morte dei Griffini t cu cofirmaçõe Lewelini tunc pincipis Walt que omes donacões ofirmauit. Requis : quit 7 gomodo . dicūt gd csuetudo Walf est gd vnusgisq. Walicus ad voluntatē suā dare potest vx sue terras ten sua ante sponsalia vi post put sibi cederit volutati. Reqisiti si p baltos dni

Inquisition and Charters, A.D. 1270.

Rege dca Emma eiecta fuit de Pris I ten pdcis vl p alios: Dicut qd post morte dci Griffini eade Emma stetit in seis de omib; fris t ten pdcis usa Guerram inceptam inf Angt t Walt I extunc eo ad da Emma fuit ad fide dni Rege in Angt daus Lewelinus ipsam de omib3 fris I ten pdcis eiecit I dcas fras t ten reddidit Madoco fit Griffini. Dicut t ad consuetudo Wallie tat qd quocienscuq aliquis p timore guerre vl alia occone reliquerit fram sua 7 recesserit de Wallia ad alias ptes bene licebit dno fram illa seysire taqa escaeta suam I face inde voluntate suam.

APP. D. A.D. 1270.

[Endorsed]

dedit x. ti . redditus de Maylor Seysneke 7 pto dnicaz de Outoñ scitt gangiam in bosco t assart que eade Emma assartauit 7 piscar 7 Molend.

Expectet reditũ regis a Wallia.

Sciant presentes & futri qd ego Griffinus fit Madoci das m. 3.) de Bromfeld assenssu t cosensu hered meoz dedi t cocessi t hac presenti carta mea cofirmaui dne Emme vxor mee legitime filie đni Henr de Audidele totam patiam que vocatr Maylorsevsnec quoad uixerit vidett Madium de Outon cu Molend & Gurgite 7 omibz aliis ptiñ suis, villam de Hengeme cu suis ptiñ. Villam de Lanerpanna cū suis ptiñ. Cnoltoñ cū suis ptiñ t omes villas que infra limites pdce patie de Mailorseysnec cotinent put ego melius t liberis dcam patiam hui t dare potui, ita tamen ad no possit dcam patiam ul aliqa pte eiusde dare vendere ul inuadiare ũl aliquo modo alienare . set post obitũ illis pdca patia ad me ül hered meos reutet . Et gd dca tra a dno Walt nō subtahatr. Et ut hec mea donaco it cocessio quoad uixerit rata t stabit pmaneat psens sciptū sigilli mei inpressione robboraui.

Hiis testib; dno Aniano Epo de Sco Asaf. dno Yarwarth abbe de Valle crucis . Madoco . Leulino . Oweno . Griffino . filiis meis . Dno Dauid decano de Bromfeld . Nenneau fit

Inquisition and Charters, A.D. 1270.

App. D. Ener . Riric fit Ener . Griffry fit Ener . Yeua Vawan . Gorono fit Hithel . Bledint fit Yarwarth 't aliis.

1270. (m. 4.)

Sciant Psentes I futuri q ego Griffinus filius Madoci dñs de Bromfeld assensu t consensu hedu meoz dedi concessi t hac psenti carta mea confimaui dne Emme uxori mee legitime filie dni Henr de Aldedeleg totu Manliu meu de Eytune in Malauor Kemeraec cū omib; ptiñ suis infra villā t exta in dominiis in boscis in peis in campis in planis in patis in pascuis in pasturis in viis in semitis aqis stagnis viuariis gurgitiba piscariis Molendinis t in omiba libtatiba t aisiamentis quas hui ul h[ere] potui t in omib; aliis ptin suis pdco Manlio spetantib; vna cū qadā Terra que jacet infra clausu pci de Eytune qam dñs Howelus pie memorie emit de omib; ħedib; de Herbystoke Reddēdo eisdem annuatim xij galones ceruis ul Pciu eazde ad fest Sci Michis vna cu quada pticula alia Pre q Jacet in pco pdco qam hedes de Erbystoke spontanea eoz volūtate tadiderūt Mi . Hndū t Tenend de Me I hedib; meis, si in tota vita sua adeo libo I Integro sicuti ego umgam libius I plenius illud hui ül hre potui Ita tamen gd post decessu pace dne Emme reutatr pacm Maniu cu omib; ptiñ suis [mihi] t hered meis Reddendo inde annuatī Mi t nediba meis ipa unu par albaz cyrotecas de pco unio denar ad fest Sci Michis p omi suico sclari exaccone t demanda. Ego uo dcus Griffinus I Medes mei Pdcm Manliu cu omibz ptin suis sicut pdcm est pdce dne Emme qamdiu vixit conta oms hoïes Warantizabim⁹ t defendem⁹. In cui⁹ rei testimoñ huic scipto sigillū meū apposui.

Hiis testib; fre Aniano tuc Epo de Sco Assaph. fre Geruasio tuc Abbe de Valle Crucis. Madoco. Lewelino. Oweyno. Griffino filiis meis. Dauid tuc Decano de Bromfeld. Juna fit Ahur. Ahur fit Iunaf. Huna fit Loreuret. Greno fit Ioreuret. Lewelino fit Eyner. Iuna Vauehan. Nennio fit Ener. Ithenanet fit Dauid taliis.

[Endorsed] Emma filia Griff ap Madoc. Ñ in Inquis de A°. vj° Aui.

APP. D.

A.D.

1270.

Sciant psentes & futuri qd nos Madocus Leuuelins Owens Griffinus filii Griffini dni de Bromfeld concessim⁹ thac Psenti carta ñra cofimauims dne Emme mati ñre qoad uix it oms tras t omia tenementa que dñs Griffin⁹ pr ñr in vita sua eidē (m. 5.) dedit i cocessit Videl; patiam de Mailor Saisenec cu suis ptiñ Manit de Outon cu Molendino & gurgite & omib; aliis ptiñ . Villam de Hagneme cu suis ptiñ . Lannerpanna cu suis ptiñ Coltoñ cũ suis ptiñ t oms villas q infa limites patie de Mailor Saisenec cotinentr . Manitu de Eyton in Mailor Kemerac cu Molendino t pco t omib; aliis ptin Et duab; pticulis fre in dco pco contentis quaz una emit domin9 Hounelus filius Madoci de omib; ħedib; de Herbestoc. Reddendo eisdem annuatim xij galones Ceruisie ũl pciū eazdem ad fest sci Michis Alia uo pticlam tradiderut predci nedes de Herbestoc sponte sua dno G . pri nro Villa de Lanarmon cu suis ptiñ in Kenlleitoñ una cu tris illis qas dna Ysota auia ñra ex consensu dni Madoci aui ñri t dni G. pris nri emit de Cadegon & Ririt & Einon filiis Doyoc que vocante Lloytteir & Pstimand . Hnda & tenenda omia pdca tenementa cu suis ptin de not 't hedib; nris qoad uixit put libius & melius ctinent in cartis eid a pdco G . pre nro cofectis. Et ut h nra cocessio t psentis carte nre confimaço q°ad uix it rata pmaneat psentē cartā sigillis ñris roborauim?.

Hiis testib; dno Aniano Epo de Sco Asaf. Dauid decano de Bromfeld . Fre Kenewrike Priore de Buthlan . dno Geruasio Abbe de Valle Crucis . Nenneau fit Ener . Baric fit Ener . Yaruorth uovl fit Yaruorth uauhan . Madoco uauhan fit Madoci fit Oweyn . Blethint fit Yaruorth . Huna fit Yaruorth . Madoco fit Yeinaf . Eynon fit Lewelini . Gorono fit yaruorth . Lewelino fit Ener . Howelo fit Dauid . Yena fit Aur . Aur fit Yeina . Meuric Vauhan . Ithel fit Gorono . Yaruorth fit Wyon . Yena Vauhan ? aliis . Dat Dynasbrin in castino bi Thom Apli Anno dni Mo cco lxxo.

APPENDIX E.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF A GWELY OF NATIVI HOLDING IN TREFGIFRIF IN THE VILLA OF BRYNGWYN, A.D. 1355.

APP. E

A.D. 1355.

Hec indentura facta inter Venerabilem Patrem dominum Iohannem Dei gratia Assaviensem Episcopum Decanum et Capitulum Assavenses ex una parte, et proprietarios et coheredes illius lecti vocati Gwely Gwarthhoet in villa de Bryngwynes . . . ex altera testatur Quod cum predicti proprietarii et coheredes semper ante hec tempora nativi vocati fuerunt et eorum terras et tenementa ibidem sub conditione trefgyfrif tenuerunt, predictus venerabilis Pater Decanus et capitulum pro se et successoribus suis ad supplicationem predictorum proprietariorum et coheredum ipsos et heredes suos et terras et tenementa ipsorum a conditione illa de cetero liberaverunt . et exoneraverunt in perpetuum et illos ejusdem conditionis sicuti et proprietarii [et coheredes] illius Lecti vocati Gwelv Ithelwr in eadem villa existentis in omnibus fecerunt, ita quod predicti proprietarii et coheredes predicti lecti vocati Gwely Gwarthhoet et heredes sui de cetero in perpetuum solvant domino . . . marcas annui redditus in festo Apostolorum Philipi et Iacobi pro hac concessione habenda ubi antea quinque solidos hujus redditus in festo predicto solvere consueverunt In cujus rei testationem predicte partes huic indenture alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt His testibus Roberto ap Gruffud . tunc Ragloto domini Episcopi . Lew . . . ap Madoc Loyt . tunc vconomo ejusdem . Eden Moel ap Bleth Duy . tunc Ringildo ibidem . Eynon ap Ken ap Bleth. Lewarch ap Eign. Heilyn ap Bleth ap Grono et domino Ithel Duy ap David ap Lewarch et aliis multis. Datum apud Sanctum Assaphum die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno Domini milessimo tricentessimo quinquegessimo quinto [1355].

APPENDIX F.*

EXCHEQUER K. R. EXTENTS. ROLL 51.

Public Record Office.

Inquisico capta apd Lampadar die Venlis px ante fm Natiuitate te Marie Anno Regn Rege Edwardi Ticesimo qarto coram Johe Skydemor Const castri de Lampadar ? Maurico de Nouo casto p dnos Johem de Foxeley & Thom de Grauntebrygg pincipales auditores compotoz de fris dni pincip tociº Walte spatr assigat ad inquirend sup diusis callumpñ tangentib; comp Henr Le Yong custod mortue garnistre casti pdči de tempe dni T de Milton quondam camar West Walte que quidm callumpnie inferi9 patebunt p responsiones iuratoz vid; p Wiltm cam Wiltm Levonner Walfm Wyith Dauid ab Walf Dauid vgruge Walf ab Dauid burgens ville de Lampadar Wiltm plomm Johem de la Hey Janitore Ricm de Lanley Sampson cticum Robtum le Marchal & Willim Hod existentes in garnistra casti pdcii Juratos Qui dicunt p sacamentu suu qd dcs Henrics onat se min9 qam debet in compoto suo de xx den de pco cuisl; qartii de xvij qart fri in vendicone computate Et de iiij xx xvj qart fri comp in corrupcoe i consumpcoe vmin vendidit seu vendere potuit ad comodu dni xvj qart fri pc cuisl; qart iiij. s. Et hoc p⁵q, a habuit in pcept illud frm exponde vendicoi Residuu vo illis fri expendit fuit p parte in porc dni pascend I p parte alia pi'tum fuit in mar Itm dicut qd idm H. onat se min9 de viij. đ. de pco cuis1; qart de x qat fat comp in vend Et de xix qart fat de quib; no fit menco in litacoe

APP. F. (m. 1.)

^{*} The grammatical errors are so numerous in the original that the transcriber has left many unnoticed.

APP. F. S

sua. Vendidit vj q^art p̃c cui⁹l; iij. š. iiij. đ. Et alia vj q^art venđ p̃c cui⁹l; q^art ij. š. iiij. đ. Residuū expenđ in porc¢ đni pascenđ Itm đnt q̃d iđm H. concessit hõib; prie xxvj q^art far auen que computant^r in vendicõe v; q̃dl; q^ar p ij š.

p pilkorn Ita q̃d respondent si j qart pilkorn nouo p j qart far antiq̃ que adhuc remanent in castro licet in comp̃ suo computent in vendicone Et de aliis xxxiiij qart far vend x qart p̃co cui gart iiij. s. Residuū illig far piecit in mar vt

credunt Dicūt \tilde{t}_{a}^{qd} de bras cap t de bras curs no possunt dre aliud q^{am} in comp dči H. continet \tilde{t}_{a}^{r} $\tilde{t}_{a}^$

vend iiijviij qart auenaz minut pco cui lz gart x. d. Et ipe idm recep pciū eozdm licet contineatr in comp suo qd dns Thom de Milton debuisset recepisse. Ifm ant ad de vij dot vini compute in abiccone exta muros idm H. vend i dot in tatnando v3 lageñ p ij. d. Et vend alia iij dot Rogo le carempt in grosso p l. s. psentibs . . Const t quibsdam aliis burgens ville vnde idm . . const fecit talt conta dem Rogm de suma pdca t eam tadidit dco Henr noie ipio Rogi Set dcs Rogs illud vinū nō quesiuit in casto que fuit causa ignorant iurati supadči Residuū vini eictū fuit vt computatur Itm đnt gd idm H. vt credunt bñ computauit dimid dot melt in prificacone seu in emdaçõe eisam Set vena viij dot melt pco cui la dot v. Marc t di Et alia tia dot remant in casto vt in comp continetr. Itm ant qd idm H. ohat se min j dot sat qam debet. Itm dicūt qd onat se ming qa debet de iiij. d. de pco cui la carcos bou de lxv carcos in comp suo vendite Dnt t qd illa lxv carcos bou fuer sic vendita remansut de instauro empto tempe Robti de Tybotot Dnt T qd de bacconibz I allec no possunt aliud dice qam qd continetr in comp pdci Henr. Dicut T qd de D. dur piscib; coputate in comp suo remant corrupt qd idm H. vend quosdam nescit th ad qm num. Requisit de pco venditoz dnt qd quidam

(m. 2.)

vendebant p j.đ. quidam p j den t ob t vt essent cti de nuo remanenciū fecunt eos numar t inuenut iiije t no plus Dnt t gd de cepo ferr plumb carbon Mar ballist baudr qar springat cacab pattelt ? Cilic ad torale nich possunt dre aliud qam qd in comp pdei H. continet Hoc except qd lic; tūc ferrū remansit put compr in comp suo modo no remant ni ccxvij pec Dnt t gd idm H. lib dno Thom de Milton c. s. sn talt ut bn sciut Dnt t qd id H. nullū mel emit put computat in empcoib p ipm; fcis tempe T. de Milton nisi tame illud qd miscuit cu melle antiqo t cu illo simul vendebatur t hoc apparet p comp suu q no onat se in aliqo loco illio comp de melle empto Dicūt togd no emit pilkorn no cariauit fat no vina nec sal Empe dni T. de Milton si postea fecit dns Wilts de Rogate qui nuc est camaris por testificar In cuis rei testiom sigilla pdcoz iuratoz psenti inquisicoi sunt appensa.

Extenta de Dyneuor fca die anica In vig anuciacois be Mar anno r r E. octauo Cora ano t Henr de Bray p sacament subsciptor vid; Wilti Vouchan Henr ap Wronou Lewelin ap Kenewrec Griffit ap Owen Cradoc ap Eymer Cadugan ap Ioruad Res ap Howel Morgan ap Eymer Wiltmi ap Wronou Dauid ap Alisaundre Ioruad goch Madoc ap Res qui dicut p sacament suu qd est ibiam quoddam castum no du plene repatu qd si modo debito deberet repari custaret ad minus cc. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d si puteus deberet fi ad aquam ħndam infa castrū custaret ad minus xxx libas.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibidm xxx acr Walenc in dnico quaz quil; ac² val; p Ann iiij. d. Sm² x. s.

Itm dicūt qd sun ibidm in dnico xviij acas Walenc qaş q̃lib; val; p ann vj. d. Sma ix. s.

lĩm dicũt q̃d est ibiđm vna ac² p³ti t val; p anũ viij. đ.

Smª viij. đ.

APP. F.

Itm dicūt q̃d villa de Gleygon soluit de redā asiso p ann iiij. Mar̃ vid; ad iiij tminos anni p eqali porcoe ad quēl; tminū

Sma iiij. Mar̃.

Itm dicūt qd sunt ibi xiiij firmar qui tenēt j acam tre t val3 p ann ij. s. t iiij. d. Sma ij. s. t iiij. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d ptita t pquis h⁹ietta t lerewita valēt p anñ x. s. t iiij. d. Sm^a x. s. t iiij. d.

Itm dicūt qd est ibi quoddam Molendinū aqaticū t val; p ann iij s t iiij. d. Sma iij. s. t iiij d.

It̃m dicūt q̃d lib⁹e tenētes eius**d**m Westua dabūt dno p anū lxxiij busselt auen t valēt p ann vj. s. t j. d.

Sma vj. s. 4 j. d.

Smª iiij. ti. xv. s. t j. đ.

Extenta de Karekenin cū cōmoto de Diskenin [Iskenin] coram pdcis p sīm pdcoz Iuratoz.

qui dicūt p sc̃rm suū q̃d est ibi quoddam castum.

Iîm dicūt qd sunt ibi viij acre tre in anico qaz q̃lib3 aca valet p ann vj. d. Sma iiij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d est ibm quid comot⁹ que dr Diskenin t cōtin; ix Westuas q^a; quel; Westua redd p ann de redd asiš iiij. Mar vid; ad iiij anni tminos p eqali porcoe ad quēl; tminū Sma xxiiij. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d vbi debent^r īf^a dc̃m cõmot̃ ij. đ. redđ hebit đns j cribram aueñ que cribra val₃ j. đ.

Sma xij. ti.

qd dči Iurati no dicūt cribra valer in toto p ann u tm xxvj t viij. đ.

Itm dicut qd sunt ibidm xv tenentes qui redd de redd asiso vij. 3. 4 debent nichomin custodire adia dni de cosuetudie 4 val3 illud suiciū iij. 3. ix. d. p ann

Smª x. 3. 7 ix. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d est ibi quodā Molendinū aqaticum t val3 p anñ xiij. s. t iiij. a. Sma xiij. s. t iiij. a.

Itm dicūt qd debent sustētar ibid suientes de Teylu App. F. supib3 patie t val3 illud suiciū p ann liij. s. t iiij. d.

Smª liij. š. t iiij. đ.

Iĩm dicũt qd ptita t pqusiĩ ibiđ valēt p ann iiij. ti.

Smª iiij. ti.

Itm dicut qd hietta t lerewita ibidm valet p ann xx. s.

Smª xx. §.

Itm dicūt qd quando dns iret in aliqa expedicoe heret auxiliū de hoib; suis eiusdm comot t valet illud auxiliū p ann xl. s. Sma xl. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d est ibi quodā patū magnū in Montana quod cōtin; in se ccc acr t vocatr Bren aye q̃d quið patū nō ponit ad aliquē valorē quia dicūt q̃d nō inuenit aliquis in patia qui fenū velud cōpare nec qui in dco pato auia velud ininstare [sic]

Item dicūt q̃d est ibi qued foresta que vocata Glinalan t val; pastura illius foreste p anñ x. s. Sma x. s. Sma x. s.

Itm dicut qd pannag eiusd foreste val; p ann vj. s. 7 viij. d.

Smª vj. š. t viij. đ.

Itm dicūt qd est ibid alia foresta que vocat Brenaye tval; pficuu eiusd foreste in õib; exitib; p ann xx. s.

Smª xx. §.

Smª xlviij. [ti.] xviij. [s. t j]. d.

Memorand q̃d Res ap Mereduc tenet iij Westuas de ballīa dni Pagani de Cadurciis ten quousq, dns Rex facet eid Reso excambeu p tra de Dineuor t vocat tra illa Mainormeyboncesyl t extenditur ad xij Marc p ann de redd asno. ptita t pquisita no potuerut extendere quia tra iacet inculta t qasi vacua. Sma xij. Marc

Mainor Meibon Scesyl.

Extenta de Cardigan fca coram dno Rico de Exoñ t (m. 3.) Henr de Bray apd Cardigan die Mocur in castino sci Gregor

App. F. anno ř ř E. octauo p subsciptos Juratoř vid; Joh Penkoyd Wiltm Penkoyd Johm fit dd Walfm Longū dd du Ad Fader Liwelin Vouchan Kediuor Seys Liwelin ap Res Robřm Walenš Iouan ap Ioruad Griffit ap dun Qui dicūt p sacament suū qd apd Cardigan est Castrum in quo est bona Turris.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi in đnico ccc t xxx acr p min⁹ .c. q^az quil₃ ac^a valet p ann iiij. đ. Sm^a v. ti. x. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi v acas pati qaz quilz valet p ann viiij. d. Sma iij. s. t iiij. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d ẽ queđ tra q̃ dr Nettpole t val; p ann ij. s. Smª ii. s.

Itm dicūt qd sunt ibid sil; in dca villa de Cardigan e t xxx burgag p min c. quoz quodl; redd p ann xij. s.

Sma vj. ti. x. 3.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibid q̃d sunt ibi [sic] lx t x chensarij qui dicūt Burgens de vento quoz quil; redd p ann xij. d.

Smª lxx. §.

Itm dicūt q̃d est ibi quedam tra in thico que tr Watshulle t val; p anñ xx. s. Smª xx. s. Itm dicūt q̃d est ibi quedam insula pasture in thico cui⁹ pficuū val; p anñ vj. s. t viij. t. Smª vj. s. t viij. t.

l'îm dicūt qd ptita t pquis Hundr de eadm val; p ann xxx. s. Smª xxx. s.

Iı̃m dicūt q̃d tolnetū M cati de ead val3 p ann xx. s.

Sma xx. §.

Itm dicūt q̃d pficuū nūdinaz val3 p ann l. s. Smª l. s. Itm dicūt q̃d de qªlib3 naui carcata de xxx doleis vini ad min⁵ et intªnte portū de Cardigan hebit dñs de prisa sua duo dolea vini p xl. s. quā prisam nesciunt estimare.

līm dicūt q̃d dñs hebit de q^alib; bracina cuisie inf^a detam villam de Cardigan xiij lageñ cuisie p vj. d. t val; p ann xv. s. Sm^a xv. s.

Irm dicut qd sunt ibi tia Molend aqatica t val; p ann App. F. vj. ti. t xiij. s. t iiij. d. Sma vj. ti. t xiij. s. t iiij. d.

Iĩm dicût qd est ibid quedam piscar t valet p ann v. 3.

Sma v. š.

Itm dicut qd libi Walens reddunt p ann xviij. s. t vj. d.

Smª xviij. š. 7 vj. đ.

Itm dicut qd Prior de Cardigan ten; quand pticula tre tredd p ann vj. d. Sma vj. d.

Iîm dicūt q̃d Rog̃s de Mortuomari ten; j pticulam tre tredt pann vj. d. Sma vj. d.

Itm dicūt qd libi Walens reddūt p ann sil; in festo aploz Phi t Jacobi iiij qart de auen pciū qar xij. d. Sma iiij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d pdči Walens redđ p ann ij. vaccas sil; in festo pdčoz Phi t Jacobi pciū vacc vij. s. Sma xiij. s.

Iîm dicūt q̃d ptita t pquis comitat² de Cardigan valēt p ann iiij. ti. Sm^a iiij. ti.

Itm dicut qd Pannag ibide val; p ann xij. d.

Sma xij. đ.

Itm dicut qd libi tenetes debet face sectam ad comitatu de Cardigan de Mense ad mēsā.

Itm dicut qd quando balt de Cardigan deb; ire in execitu tuc dd fit ad Wladusi fit Leuwerch Joh fit Worgennu debent cariare victu ipius equos si huerint.

Liwelinus fit ptin deb; vigilare dăm dū fuit in exceitu apd Cardigan.

Itm dicūt q̃d dñs hebit wreccū maris infa libtatem suam Ita tamē q̃d si inueniatur sup tram alicui libi tenentis dči dni t valeat plusqam v sot dñs hebit dčm wrec t dabit libe tenēti v. s. Sma xxxv. ti. xiij. s. t x. d.

Extenta de Kermdin coram dno Rico de Exoñ de Henr de Bray apd Kermdin die Luñ pxª añ fest an anciacois be Marie anno r r E. Octauo p sacªment supªsc¹ptoz Meylir Vauchan Ricus le chapman Smon de de Bedeford Nich

APP. F.	King Thom le clerke Thom Wint Nich Sinund Re
	Kreg Walt Iuuen Thom Bulpen Ioh Luring Mau
	Bernard Qui dicūt q̃d est ibi q̃ddam castum in quo es
	qued bona [] ex v puis turrib3 costructa.
	Itm dicut qd sunt ibi xx acr tre in anico que tra vocat
	Archidiaconi qaz quel3 acr valet p ann xij. đ. Sma xx. s
	Itm dicūt qd sunt ibi xij acr ere in anico in quodam loca
	qui dr Kildeuor quaz quel; acr val; p ann viij. đ.
	Sma viij. 8
	Itm dicūt qd sunt ibi lxxviij acr tre in dnico qua
	firmarij tenēt ad voluntatē dni t val; q̃lib; aca p ann viij. d.
	Smª lij. 8
	Itm dicūt qd sunt ibi pati in Redcors t v ac
	p ^a ti in Dethoc q ^a t val; p ann iij. s. t iiij. đ.
	% iiij. đ
	Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi acr pati vlta cewi ex
	oppoito castri qaş quelş iij. s. t iiij. d.
	S t viij. đ
	Iîm dicût qd burgens pdce ville de Kermdin dant dno p
	cōmuna p anñ x. š.
	Iîm dicut qd sunt in dca villa de Kermdin c. t lxix
	burgağ p minus rg val; p
	Itm dicūt q̃d sūt ibi iiijxx t vj qui dicunt burgens de
	vento quoz q̃lib3 solu Sma
	Itm dicūt qd sunt ibi xxij chensar quoz quil; soluit p ani
	vj. đ. Sma xj. š
	lĩm dicũt qd sūt ibi curtilagia t valent p ann v. s. t j. đ
	Sma v. š. t j. d
	Iĩm dicūt q̃d dra Riči Faucon val; p ann ij. š.

Itm dicūt qd Thom Vollen tenet quand turrim 7 redd p

Irm dicut qd plita i pquisit Hundredi de Kermdin valet

Smª ij. š.

Smª iij. đ.

Smª lx. š.

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ann iij. d.

p ann lx. s.

Item dicūt q̃d tolletū M cati ibidem valet p ann viij. ti.

Sma viij. ti.

It̃m dicūt q̃d exit⁹ nūdinaz valet p anñ v. ti. vj. s̃. t viij. d̃. Sm^a v. ti. vj. s̃. t viij. d̃.

It̃m dicūt q̃d prisa vini ibidm val; p ann C. s. Sma C. s. It̃m dicūt q̃d dñs ht iij ptes Molendinū q̃d vocatr Cewismulle \text{\chi} valet p ann xxx. s. Sma xxx. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi vj gurgites in aqa de tewi t valēt cū piscar p ann lx. s. Sma lx. s.

It̃m dicūt q̃d est ibi quedam piscar̃ ex supiori pte pontis t valet p anñ viij. s̃. Smª viij. s̃.

Itm dicūt q̃d Thom Bolpen redđ p quođ pato ap̃d Redcors dī ti pipis p̃ciū iiij. đ. Sma iiij. đ.

Itm dicut qd Joh Luring redd p quod pato in loco pdco p ann di lit pipis peiu iiij. d. Sma iiij. d.

Iếm dicũt \tilde{q} d Iểm Joh redễ p vno Mesuag \tilde{l} vna aca pati vna lib simini pciũ j. đ. Sma j. đ.

Iếm dicũt \tilde{q} d Pħs Kist redđ p an
ũ p q^a dam tra \tilde{q} vocat Leylond j liba simini pci
ũ j. đ. Sma j. đ.

Itm M^d q̃d fcia ps cui^sdam molendi quod vocat^r Dāmmyle aleniata fuit tēpe dni Edmūdi q̃ quid ps valet p anñ j M^srcam t incartata fuit domini lospitat de Flebech [Slebech] p dñm Edmūdum post vltimā extentam.

Adhuc de extenta de Kermdin.

(m. 3. dors.)

Jurat dicūt q̃d est ibi forinseca tra exta villā que quid tra dr Redraw t clodor Kediuor t illā trā tenēt libi Wallens t reddūt p ead p ann vij. s. iiij. d. t õ. t faciūt sectam ad comitatū.

Sma vij. s. iiij. d. t õ.

Et sciend qd tenentes pdcam fram de Raderau t cela dant p releuijs ij. s. t p seisina fre finda ij. s.

Itm dicūt qd Walens Heluet de pte đni Reg de Derlis Twidigada dant đno p ann xvij adia dĩđm adia Triciam pte

1 Sic, for domui.

vni⁹ auer pciū cuiusl; auerij v. s. t licitū est dno cape den uel aŭia p voluntate sua. Sm^a iiij. ti. ix. s. ij. d.

Itm dicūt qd releuia Walens ibidm valent p ann xl. s.

Smª xl. 3.

Itm dicūt q̃d ptita t pquis comitat tam Anglicoz qam Walenciū valēt p ann xj. ti. Sma xj. ti.

Iĩm dicũt qd cũ dĩs voluit Walens cariabūt memiū de bosco usa castum de Kermdin.

Smª lxviij. ti. v. 3. iiij. d. 4 ő. Extenta Praz West Wallie.

Comoto de Meuenth.

(m. 4.) Jurat dei Comot sil; Griffit Crau Ieuan Meylir Owen ap Griffit Res ap Griffit goch Madoc Voil ap Griffit ap Madoc Howel ap Willi Griffit ap Wiltm Griffit goch ap Lewelin Iouan ap Ener Iouā ap Griffit ap Iouan Madoc Vauchan Griffit ap Madoc dicūt p sesm suū qd dās Rex tit ibidm in dnico j di Rantir que vocat Geylbach Gorlby que extenditur p ann ad xiij. s. iiij. d.

Itm ht in anico ibid quand pticulam dre que vocatr Treuenant d'Treuedin d'estimatur p ann vij. s. d x. d.

Iim dicūt q̃d dñs ħt in dc̃o Cōmoto quand aliam pticulam Pre que vocat^r Trefonion T extendit^r p ann ad v. s.

Dicūt ecciam qd dñs ħt ibidm in dnico quond fram que vocat^r Roysmayde q̃ extenditur p ann viij. š. t iij. d.

Smª extent traz de anico in deñ

xxxiiij. š. t vj. đ.

Dicūt eciam dĉi Iurat̃ q̃d in dĉo cōmoto sunt viij Westuas qa¸ quel; Westua ctinet in se v Randirs t quil; Randir extenditur p anñ de reda assío ad x. s. t viij. a. vid; ad iiij annī tminos p eqali porcoe ad quēl; tminū

Sma xxj. ti. vj. 3. 4 viij. d.

Dicūt ecciam q̃d quel; Westua q̃ solebat pasce dīm cū familia sua qat in anno t Weysenteylu venatores cū canib;

qu^a supius. dni falconarios cū auib; p aduent⁹ suos q̃d quid suiciū vocatur West t extendit^r p ann ad xxj. ti. vj. s̃. viij. d̃. et sciend est q̃d quel; Westua debet redde ad quel; thinu j Mar vid; ad iiij anni thinos ut supa Sma xxj. ti. vj. s̃. t viij. d̃.

Dicūt ecciam qd viij suient de Keys debent pasci infa dcm comot p ann t extendit potra cui liba in die j. d.

Sma xij. ti. iij. s. iiij. d.

Dicūt ecciam q̃d ij garc̃ t ij equi đni debent sustentari inf^a dc̃m cōmor̃ a festo õium sc̃oz usq, festu aploz Phi t Jacobi t extendit sustentac̃o cui lib; garc̃ cu equo in die ij. d. ut supius.

Sm^a lx. s. t iiij. d.

Dicūt ecciā q̃d j garc̃o t j equo Raglou debet sustentari infa dc̃m cōmot̃ p idm tēpus t extendit illud suiciū ad ij. d. in die ut supius.

Sma xxx. s̃. t ij. dt.

Dicūt ecciam q̃d libi Walens de eod comoto dabūt auenā ad p̃bend dextarij dni vid; quil; Walens j cribram aueñ l extendit qel; cribra aueñ ad j. d. Sma ix. s. l xj. d.

Dicūt ecciam qd fines ptita t pquis extendunt p ann ad x. ti.

Itm dicut qd hietta releuia t lerewita valent p ann c. s.

Sma c. s.

Itm dicut qd Pannag porcoz de cosuetudie val; p ann xx. s. Smª xx s.

Itm dicut qd quociens dus iret in expedicoe aliqua fca geflali sumonicoe de eundo secu de quol; domi morant sine licencia hebit dus j auiu pcij v. s. qd nesciunt extendere.

Itm dicūt q̃d quando dñs iret in expedicoe exta comitat de Cardigan q̃d ħebit de qal; Westua iij. s. t iiij. d. q̃d nesciunt extendere.

Smalxvv. ti. xvij. s. tj. d.

Extenta de Cōmot Heninioc.

Iurati dĉi comti sil; Cadugan ap Letheri Griffit ap Ioru^ad Griffit pson Madoc ap Gronou dd ap Ithel Felip Vouchan Madoc ap Liwelin ap Ithel Madoc ap dd Heynon ap dd APP. F. Griffit Vouchan Liuelin Forsat & Madoc ap Henr dicūt p
scarm suū q̃d sunt in dc̃o comotr̃ ix Westuas de quib; vj
Westuas respondent dno Reg̃ & residue Ep̃o Meneuenc̃ &
Abbti de Stata Florida qaz sex Westua quelib; Westua
cotinet in se v Randirs & respondit quil; Randir de redd
asiso p anñ de xiij. s. & iiij. d. vid; ad iiij anñ minos p eqali
porcoe ad quēl; minū

Ir̃m dicūt q̃d quel; Westua solebat pasce dñm cū familia sua quat̃ in anno t Weysonteulou venator̃ cū canib; falconar̃ cū auib; suis p suos aduent⁹ q̃d quidem suiciū vocatr Weest. t extēditr in qual; Westua ad iiij Macas p anñ soluent ad iiij annos tminos ut supa p eqali porcoe tc̃. Sma xvj. ti.

Itm dicūt qd vj suientes de Keys debēt pasci infa dc̃m cõmot p ann t extenditur potora cuisl; suientis in die j. d.

Smª ix. ti. ij. š. 7 x. đ.

It̃m dicūt ų̃d ij garc̃on t ij equi đui debēt sustentar infadc̃m cōmot a festo omium sc̃oz usq festu aploz Phi t Jacobi t extendit sustentac̃o cui garc̃ois cū equo in die ut supius

Smª lx. 3. 4 iiij. đ.

sil; ballio pat'e

Iı̃m dicūt q̃d j garc̃ t j equus Raglou debet sustentar̃ infa dc̃m comot̃ p id̃m tempus t extenditur illud suiciū ad ij. d. in die ut supius Sma xxx. s. t ij. d.

Ifm dicūt q̃d libi Walens de eod cōmoto dabūt auenā ad pbend dext^arij dni vid3 quil3 Walēs j cribrā aueñ t extendit^r quel3 cribra aueñ ad j. d. Sm^a iiij. s. t vij. d.

Iếm dicūt qd fines ptita t pquis eius comoti valet p ann ix. ti. Sma ix. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d hietta releuia t lerewita valēt **p** ann C. s. Sma C. s.

ibiď

Itm dicūt q̃d pannag̃ de cosuetudie val3 p anñ xl. s. It̃m dicūt q̃d est ibi quoddā Molendĩm cui° due ptes ptinēt ad regē t valēt ille due ptes p anñ xx. s.

Smª XX. 3.

Itm dicūt qd quociens dns iret in expedicoe aliqua fca genali sumonicoe de eundo secu de golib; domi morante sine licencia hebit dns j auiū pcii v. s.

Itm dicut qd [] dns iret in expediçõe exta com de Cardigan qd hebit de qalib; Westua iij. s. 7 iiij. d.

Smª lxiij. ti. 7 xj. đ.

Extenta Ville de Treuillan.

Itm Iurati dicūt qd ibidm quedam tra in dnico que val; p ann xxvj. š. t viij. Smª xxvj. š. ? viij. đ.

Itm dicut qd est ibi qued tra que dr tra de Leswen t valet p ann liij. s. t iiij. d. Smª liij. 8. 7 iiij. đ.

Itm dicūt qd opa t cosuetudines custimarioz ibidm valent Smª ij. š. p ann ij. š.

Smª iiij. ti. 7 ij. 8.

Smª Smªz lxvij. ti. ij. š. 7 xj. đ.

Extenta Mañij de Lampadvaur fca in castino Sci Mathie apli anno r r Edwardi Octauo coram duo Rico de Exon 1 Magro Henr de Bray p Mandat dni Reg p sacamet subsciptoz

Comot Puith.

Res gou Wm ap dd ap Codugan Ddd ap Lewelin Griffit gouch Wurgeniu ap Kediuor Wronou gouch Res ap Iouan Iouan Waucham Madoc ap Ioruad Iuor ap Griffit Ad ap Madoc gothel Meredit ap Ioruad qui Iur dicūt p sacament suū qd est ibi quidam sitis castri cū villa Muro lapideo inclausa que quide villa contin; in longitudie

lxxv pticas t in latitudie lxxj pticas ptica xx pedū

Itm dicut quod sunt ibi iiij carucate tre in dnico que tra dr Llanvaddafe qarū quel; carucat tra extendita p ann ad Smª xxvj. š. t viij. đ. vj sot t viij. đ.

Itm est ibi quoddam patum iuxta aquam de Aberclaraw B B 2

APP. F.

(m. 5.)

Арр. F. q̃d nō est in eod cōmoto et ideo quamvis extendatur ad C. s. nō ponitur in sm² subseq̃nti quia sunt quid Walens qui dicūt se hre ius in pdc̃o p²to.

Itm dicūt quod sunt inf^a dc̃m cõmor̃ quatuor Westua q^a¿ quelib; Westua continet in se quinq, Randirs t extendit^r

quilib; Rantir de redd asiso de x. s. tviij. d. vid; ad iiij tminos p eqali porcoe ad queml; tminū

Smª x. ti. x[iij. 3.] t iiij. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d quel; Westua solebat pasce dñm cū familia sua qater in anno t Weysenteylu venatores cū [can]ib; dni falconarios cū auib; suis p aduent suos q̃d quid suiciū vocat West. t extendit illud West. in qual; Westua ad iiij Macas p anñ soluendas ad qatuor tminos anñ ut supa p eqali porcoe.

Sma x. ti. xiij. s. t iiij. đ.

Itm dicut quod qatuor suient de Keys debent pasci infadem comot p ann t extendita potora cuislib; in die j. d.

Smª vj. ti. t xx. đ.

Itm dicūt quod duo garcon t duo equi ani debent sustentari infa dem comot a festo oium seoz usq. festū aploz Phi

I Jacob I extendit^r sustentaco garc cu equo in die ij. d.

Smª lx. s. t iiij. đ.

It̃m dicūt quod vnus garc̃o t vn⁹ equus Raglou sil3 balti patⁱe debet sustentari inf^a dc̃m cõmot́ p id̄m tēpus t extendit^r illud suiciū in die ad ij. đ. ut supius

Sma xxx. s. 7 ij. d.

ยากกลี

It̃m dicūt \tilde{q} d libi Wallens de eodem comoto dabūt \tilde{q} ad \tilde{p} bend dextarij dni vid \tilde{q} quil \tilde{q} vnā cribram aue \tilde{n} dextenditar quel \tilde{q} cribra aue \tilde{n} ad \tilde{p} . \tilde{q} . \tilde{q} \tilde{q}

17m dicūt qd fines ptita t pquisita eiusdm cōmoti extendunt p ann ad C. s. Smª pat3.

It̃m dicūt q̃d hietta releuia t lerewita ibidm extendunt^r p anñ ad iiij lib^as. Sm^a pat3.

Itm dicūt q̃d Pannag̃ de cosuetudie extendit panñ ad xx. s. Smª pat3.

APP. F.

Itm dicūt qd quociens dns iret in expedicoe aliqa tca genali sumonicoe de eundo secu de quol; domi morant sine licencia neret dns vnu adiu pcij v. s.

Itm dicut qd quando dns iret in expedicoe exta comit de Cerdigan qd heret de qalib; Westua iij. 3. 4 iiij. d.

Smª xliij. ti. xvj. s. ? iij. đ.

Comot⁹ de Croudin.

Iurati dõi cõmoti sil; Að ap Howel Cadugan Voil Cadugan ap Griffit Meylor ap Lewelin Ioruad ap Griffit dd ap Griffit Vouchan Res ap Lewelin Griffit ap Howel Howel Vauchan Griffit gouch Griffit Vauchan ap Madoc Iouan Vouchan dicūt p šerm suū qd sunt ibi in đnico viij carucate tre que tra dr Dynasmaylur qaz quel; carucat tre extendit p ann ad x. s. Sma iiij. ti.

Itm dicūt qd est vna carucat tre apd Ruarthem textendit pannad xij. s. Sma xij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt infa dc̃m cõmot̃ vj Westuas qaz quel; Westua contin; in se v Randirs t extendit quil; Randir de x. s̃. tviii d.

redđ asiso p ann vid; ad iiij tminos p eqali porcoe ad quel; tminu Sma xvi. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d quelib; Westua solebat pasce đīm cū familia sua qater in ann t Weysenteylu venatores cū canib; đni falconarios cū auib; suis p suos aduent q̃d quidem suiciū vocat Weest t extendit illud Weest in qual; Westua ad qatuor Marcas p ann soluendas ad qatuor tminos anni ut sup p eqali porcoe Sma xvj. ti.

lîm dicût qd vj suient de Keys debent pasci infa dêm comot p ann t extendit potora cuist; in die j. d.

Sma ix. ti. ij. š. t vj. d.

Itm dicut qd iij garc iij equi debent sustentar infa

APP. F. dcm comot a festo oium scoz usq, festu aploz Phi t Jacobi t extendit sustentaco cui garc cu equo in die ij. d.

Sma iiij. ti. x. š. t vj. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d vnus garc̃ t vnus equus Raglou sil; balti patie debēt sustentar̃ infa dc̃m cōmot̃ p idm temp⁹ t extenditillud suiciū ad ij. d. in die ut supius. Sma xxx. š. t ij. d.

Ir̃m dicūt q̃d liti Walens de eod cōmoto debēt auenā ad p̃bend dextarij dni vid; quil; vnā cribrā aueñ t extendit quel; cribra aueñ ad j. d. Sma xv. s. t vj. d.

It̃m dicūt q̃d ptita t pquis eiust comoti extendunt p anñ ad vi, ti, xiij, s. t iiij, d. Sma pat;.

It̃m dicūt hietta releuia t lerewita ibid extendunt p ann ad v. ti. t x. s. Sma pat3.

Iı̃m dicūt q̃d Pannag̃ de cōsuetudie extendit $\mathbf p$ ann ad xl. $\mathbf s$. Sma pat3.

Itm dicūt qd quociens iret in expedicoe aliqa fca genali sumonicoe de eundo secu de quol; domi morant sine licencia nebit dns j aŭiu pcij v. s.

Iïm dicūt q̃d quando dñs iret in expedic̃oe extª comitat̃ de Cardigan q̃d hebit de qªlib3 Westua iij. š. t iiij. đ.

Smª lxvj. ti. t iiij. s.

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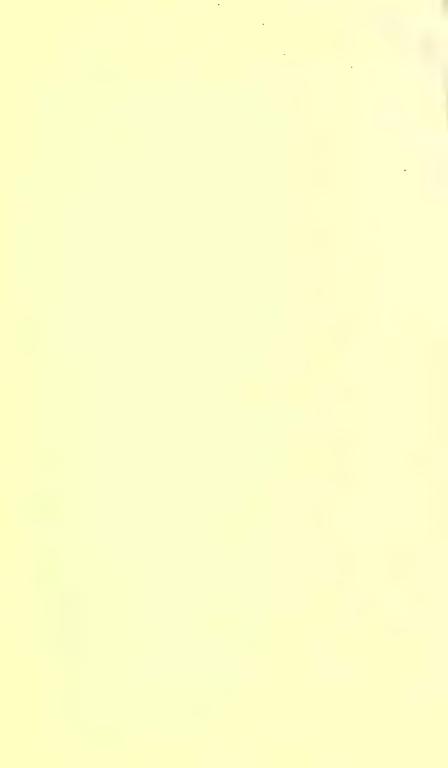
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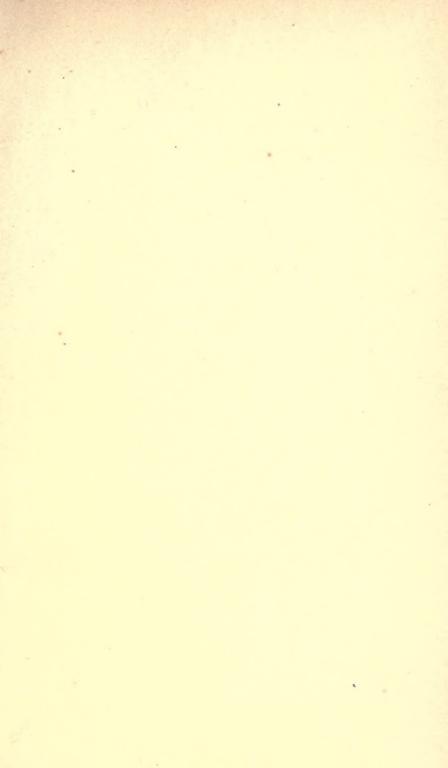
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